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The History  
of the Wine Trade  
in England.



Vol. I.



**THE HISTORY OF THE  
WINE TRADE  
IN ENGLAND**

BY

**ANDRÉ L. SIMON, F. R. Hist. S.**

AUTHOR OF

"THE HISTORY OF THE CHAMPAGNE TRADE  
IN ENGLAND."

**VOLUME I.**

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE WINE TRADE IN  
ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UNTIL THE  
CLOSE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

**LONDON:  
WYMAN & SONS, LTD.  
1906.**



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**THIS WORK**  
is dedicated to  
**THE CAUSE OF TEMPERANCE,**  
IN NO SPIRIT OF IRONY, BUT WITH FEELINGS OF DEEP  
CONVICTION THAT A BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF THE  
HISTORY OF WINE IN THIS COUNTRY WOULD  
PROMOTE AMONGST THE PUBLIC A GREATER  
APPRECIATION OF THE VIRTUES OF  
WINE, THE MORE GENERAL USE OF  
WHICH WOULD HELP TO CHECK  
BOTH DRUNKENNESS AND  
TEETOTALISM, EVILS WHICH  
EVERY FAIR-MINDED  
AND TEMPERATE MAN  
CANNOT HELP  
DEPLORING.



## PREFACE.

THIS work has been undertaken in order that wine merchants should have at command a concise history of their Trade, showing its antiquity, the important part it has played in the history of their country and the influence it has had in the development of national characteristics.

In a word, I would have wine merchants look upon their Trade, not as a mere money-making instrument, but as a branch of commerce of which they have every reason to be proud.

At the same time, I earnestly wish and hope—with the assistance of my friends in the trade—to draw the attention of the public to the value of wine as a truly hygienic and temperance beverage.

Whilst the consumption of wine in England has been steadily decreasing of late years, lunacy has rapidly increased, and a host of new nervous disorders and diseases of the digestive organs have made their appearance in these, our temperate times.

These facts alone, far more than lengthy arguments and learned treatises on the merits of wine, ought to convince every man whose plain common sense is proof against blind prejudice that wine is as much a necessity now as it has ever been, all the world over, amongst all peoples, and in all ages.

For verification of this statement, we have only to turn to the praises bestowed upon wine in the Holy Scriptures, and in the works of ancient writers and modern scientists alike; but no English-

man needs a better proof than that which he will find at almost every page of his country's history.

Saxon Kings and Norman lords, Churchmen and soldiers, merchants and statesmen, all the men who, by their energy, courage, enterprise, and indomitable spirit on the battle-field, in Parliament or in commerce, have deserved their country's undying gratitude and the world's admiration or hatred, all were wine drinkers. The value they attached to wine was such that they spared no effort to procure it, whatever enormous financial sacrifices were entailed.

Thus, we find the Plantagenets having their armies in the field and the garrisons of their royal castles always abundantly supplied with wine, and this in spite of the usually dilapidated state of the Royal Exchequer. At the same time, we see how often Parliaments fixed by law the maximum price at which wine was to be sold throughout the land, the idea being that wine was so valuable that its consumption should not be checked through enhanced cost. Such laws were always scrupulously applied by municipal authorities, who regulated the wine trade in its minutest details.

The history of the wine trade in England is also of great interest from other points of view. Being one of the most ancient as well as one of the most important branches of commerce, it necessarily contains much information respecting the early relations of this country with the Continent, and many details as to the origin of customs and the social and religious life in England.

In attempting to trace the beginning and early developments of the wine trade in England, I

have spared no effort to arrive at the truth and to obtain every possible information from the earliest and most reliable records illustrative of the history of this country during the early Middle Ages, principally the *Close Rolls* and *Patent Rolls*, which are being printed by the Commissioners of Public Records.

The entries registered on the *Close Rolls* (*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*) are letters addressed in the King's name to individuals, for special and particular purposes, and were folded, or *closed up*, and sealed on the outside with the Great Seal; the *Patent Rolls* (*Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*) are records of *Letters Patent*, which were addressed to all the King's liege subjects, not folded up, with the Great Seal attached at the bottom.

The information contained in these and the other official Rolls (*Scotch Rolls*, *French Rolls*, *Gascon Rolls*, etc.) is both abundant and reliable. Other sources where I found many interesting and accurate details of the history of the wine trade have been the Letter Books of the Guildhall, and the publications of the Pipe Roll Society, the Surtees Society, the Camden Society, and other learned bodies.

The standard works on matters pertaining to commercial life during the Middle Ages have also been largely consulted; such are *Madox's History of the Exchequer* and *Cunningham's Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, which are often referred to, as also *Fréville's Commerce Maritime de Rouen*, *Delpit's Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, *Francisque Michel's Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux*, and many more valuable books in English, French and German.

There is very little room, in a work such as the present, for originality of views; the author's task consists mainly in setting forth as clearly and as attractively as possible facts, dates and figures, the authenticity of which are above suspicion. I have attempted to do this to the best of my abilities, and I hope that my readers may be indulgent and overlook the shortcomings of a task undertaken and persevered with in spite of many difficulties.

It is with great pleasure that I tender here my thanks to Mr. A. S. Gardiner, who kindly undertook the tedious work of reading my proofs over, and also to those of my friends in the Trade whose help and encouragements have been of great value to me.

A. L. S.

24, MARK LANE, E.C.,  
*October 1st, 1906.*



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## CHAPTER I.

THE origin of the trade of Britain is wrapped in the greatest obscurity. In the early days, each village relied on its own resources for its supply of the necessaries of life ; its food came from its fields and herds ; its flocks supplied clothing, whilst the woods and waste lands furnished fuel in abundance. The earliest traders who were tempted to come to Britain from the Continent to procure the tin and other minerals which abounded in these islands, brought arms and dyed cloth, but there is no evidence that they ever imported wine. The absence of safe roads penetrating to the interior of the country, and the perpetual internecine wars between the numerous chiefs who claimed sovereignty over some parts of the land rendered any development of commerce impossible before the Roman occupation.

When Cæsar first landed in Britain, he found its inhabitants divided into many small nations or tribes, who lived in huts, shifting their habitation easily when actuated either by the hope of plunder or the fear of an enemy.

Trade was practically unknown to the natives and, least of all, could the wine trade have originated amongst a people whose sole property was their cattle, and whom all ancient historians describe as mere barbarians.

## 2 HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

It is no less certain that the Britons had no knowledge of the art of growing vines and of making wine : neither Cæsar nor Pliny, so accurate in their descriptions of the country, mention vines grown in Britain, and Tacitus, writing in the early part of the second century, expressly excepts them from the native products of the soil.

The humanising influence of the Romans was undoubtedly very great, and their occupation of Great Britain was, on the whole, most beneficial. At the same time, the generals and pro-consuls sent from Rome to subdue and rule over the island had little opportunity to devote much of their time to the encouragement of commerce.

Some wine may, at some time or other, have been imported into Britain during the Roman occupation, but there is no proof extant to show conclusively that this was done, and no one has ever ventured to say that the Romans created the English wine trade. But, on the other hand, many historians have asserted, and most people believe unto this day, that they introduced the culture of the vine in England ; yet any impartial observer cannot fail to realise the utter fallacy of this assertion when the only proof which has ever been brought forward to support it is examined closely. This alleged proof lies in a statement of Flavius Vopiscus who wrote, in his life of Probus, that this Emperor allowed the *Britons* to have vines and to make wine : “ Unum sane sciendum est cum Germani omnes cum ad auxilium a Procuro vocarentur, Probo potius perservire voluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Procuro esse, Gallis omnibus et Hispaniæ et *Britannis* hinc permisit ut vites haberent, vinumque conficerent.”

It seems natural to translate *Britanni* by the *Britons*, and to read this passage thus: "Probus allowed all the Gauls, and those of Spain, and the *Britons* to have vines and to make wine, as a reward for having refused to help Bonosus and Proculus in their revolt of the Germans." If, however, we take into due consideration the facts which preceded, and the evidence which follows the above statement of Vopiscus, we shall soon see that the *Britanni* mentioned therein were never meant to refer to the *English*, but to a people settled on the banks of the lower Rhine, in a district not included in what the Romans called Germania.

In the year 92 of our era, wine was abnormally plentiful, whilst the cereal harvest was a failure, the consequence being that corn became as scarce and dear as wine was abundant and cheap. Domitian, who was then Emperor, being alarmed at the extremely high price of bread and the distress which ensued amongst the poorer classes, feared that the culture of the vine had led to a partial abandonment of the growing of corn; he ordered that no new plantation of vines should be allowed in Italy, and that, in the provinces under the Roman rule, not less than half the existing vines should be uprooted.\*

As far as Italy was concerned, Suetonius was able to add "*nec exsequi rem perseveravit*"—"this order was not acted upon"—being highly unpopular. In Gaul and Spain, however, the

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\* Ad summam quondam ubertate vini, frumento vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relictæ, ubi plurimum dimidia pars: nec exequi rem perseveravit. *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera Omnia*. London 1826. Vol. II. p. 975.

#### 4 HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

military authorities were not slow in enforcing the execution of the Imperial decree, and it is even believed that the whole of the Champagne vines were totally destroyed at the time.

Britain was in no way concerned by this measure, since we have the unanswerable testimony of a contemporary, Tacitus (A.D. 54-134), the son-in-law of the best Roman governor ever sent to Britain, Julius Agricola, who says explicitly that neither vines nor olives were grown in Britain.\*

Vines did not exist in Britain when Domitian ordered their partial destruction and prohibited further plantations, and they were not likely to be introduced by the Romans into England, then an important corn-producing province of the Empire.† When, therefore, Probus wished to reward the loyalty of the Gallic and Rhenish tribes who had not thrown in their lot with the Germans under Proculus, he had no reason to include the inhabitants of Great Britain in the permission he granted the former to replant their vineyards. Besides, Probus, who fought and commanded in Egypt and on the Continent, was never concerned with Britain, or its inhabitants. The *Britanni* was a name which was also applied by the Romans to the Gauls settled in the extreme west of France and to some German tribes, who, in this instance, were the most likely to be of any real help either to Probus or the revolted generals in Germany.

Besides, Vopiscus is the only writer who names

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* Solum præter oleam vitemque, et calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum; tarde mitesunt, cito proveniunt; eademque rei causa, multus humor	terrarum cœlique. Tacitus, <i>Jul. Agricol. Vita</i> , xii. † In 359, no fewer than 800 ships were employed in the exportation of corn, from London alone.
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these *Britanni* as included in Probus's edict. Flavius Eutropius, a Roman historian who flourished early in the fourth century, simply says that Probus allowed the Gauls and Lower Germans to have vines : "Vineas Gallos et Pannonios hinc habere permisit."\*

Later, again, Aurelius Victor confines the permission given by Probus to *Gaul, Pannonia* and *Moesia*.†

The well-defined policy of the Romans to discourage the spread of viticulture in all corn-growing provinces ; the silence of their historians, always so accurate in describing the products of the soil and matters pertaining to agriculture ; the negative evidence of those who ever mentioned vines when referring to Britain ; the vague meaning of the word *Britanni* used by Roman writers ; all these are proofs that the few lines aforesaid occurring in Vopiscus, and none of the other historians who wrote about Probus, cannot possibly be considered as sufficient evidence that the Romans introduced viticulture into England. Furthermore, even if they had attempted to do so, how could the inhabitants have been induced to devote several consecutive years to rearing and tending vines before they could hope to obtain any fruit, when they lived in perpetual fear of the Picts, Scots, Welsh, Saxons and Danes ? How could the inhabitants of Britain, or the Romans, most of whom were soldiers, have acquired the skill of growing vines, always a delicate and difficult task, even under the most favourable climatic

\* Flavii Eutropii Breviarum historiae Romanae cap. IX. § 17.

† Namque ut ille oleis Africae pleraque per legiones, quarum otium reip. atque ductoribus suspectum

rebatur, eodem modo hic Galliam Pannoniasque et Moesorum colles vinetis replevit, *Scripti Aurelii Victoris Historia Romana*. De Cesaribus. Cap. XXXVIII., § 2.



conditions ? Vines could not have been cultivated in England, under the Roman rule, either for profit or pleasure, on account of the unsettled state of the country and the utter poverty of its inhabitants ; we are, besides, without the slightest reliable documentary evidence showing that the Romans either introduced viticulture or originated the wine trade of this country, and we must seek elsewhere the origin of both.

The introduction of wine and viticulture in England is coeval with the introduction of the Christian faith.

From the earliest times of the Church of Christ, the consecration of the Bread and Wine has been its principal rite ; in all parts of the world where Christianity has been introduced, a fixed ritual was followed for this the greatest of all the Church's services, the celebration of the Eucharist, for which wine was absolutely indispensable.

S. Justinus, who suffered martyrdom in A.D. 167, S. Cyprianus, who was bishop of Carthage in A.D. 248, and most of the early Fathers of the Church mention the wine to be used at Mass ; \* from the very first, the canon law had emphatically prohibited the juice of apples or of any other fruit as a substitute for the pure fermented juice of the grape.†

In nearly every Eastern and Continental province of the Roman Empire, vines were cultivated

\* See S. Justin, *Apologie de la Vie Chrétienne*, Apol. I., pp. 56-67 ; S. Cyprianus, Ep. V. ; LVIII., etc. See also Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*.

† . . . nec amplius in sacrificiis offeratur, quam de uvis et frumentis. *Concilium Carthaginense III.*, anno

397, can. 24, apud Labbe, Vol. II., col. 1170 E.

. . . ut nullus in oblatione sacri calicis nisi quod ex fructu vineæ speratur et hoc aqua mixtum affere presumat. *Concilium Aurelianense*, IV., anno 541, can. 4, apud Labbe, Vol. V., col. 382 C.

and wine easy to procure ; not so, however, in Britain, and there is no doubt that wine was imported regularly by the first Christian priests who obtained a sufficiently secure footing in this country and were able to build a church or monastery as a permanent abode.

These early missionaries kept as close a connection as the times permitted with the larger and wealthier churches already flourishing in Gaul ; they were, in many instances, the off-shoots of these continental missions which supplied them with the clothing and the wine necessary to carry on their ministry, as well as with spiritual guidance. When, for instance, Pelagius, sometime Abbot of Bangor, promulgated a doctrine opposed to the teachings of the Holy Catholic Church, S. Germanus, then Bishop of Auxerre, in Burgundy, came twice to Britain, in 428 and 446, to meet this heresiarch's disciples at Verulanium. The fame of the wines of Auxerre, for many years the most renowned of all wines known in England, is believed to date as far back as the time of S. Germanus, himself a large landowner and vine-grower.

The Christian priests were more than mere religious teachers ; they were "the agents through whom the English came into real contact with the heritage of civilised life which had survived the destruction of the Roman Empire."\*

Their influence on the social and commercial life of Britain, whose inhabitants "were steeped in the squalor of unintelligent poverty," † was far more considerable than that of the Romans, whilst the constant inter-communications of British

\* W. Cunningham. The growth of English industry and commerce during the Early and Middle Ages. Ch. I., § 2.

† Coote. Romans of Britain, p. 447.

and continental religious Houses served to encourage the development of foreign trade.

To the Church we can, therefore, trace the origin of the importation of wine in England, and indirectly, by deductive proofs, the origin of the wine trade in this country. The early Christian Church is also responsible for the introduction of viticulture in England, and this can be proved by documentary evidence the authenticity of which cannot be doubted.

The Britons did not possess a national navy to defend their sea-girt island or protect their merchant-ships. They were for many years at the mercy of the more daring and better equipped Danes, Saxons and Norsemen or Normans, who were, as late as the tenth century, pagans and ruthless pirates.

With the growth of Christianity in Britain, the number of religious Houses and clergy had increased considerably, and the supplies of wine procured from France had to be sent over to England more frequently. Many a ship-load of wine destined to some English monastery or church had been captured at sea by Danes or Normans, so that at the close of the seventh century several religious Houses turned their attention to the possibility of growing vines and making their own wine in England.

They knew that the wine they were likely to obtain thus could never be sufficiently abundant or good to be an article of commerce, but trade was not the aim they had in view; they simply wished to render themselves as independent as possible from their ever threatened foreign sources

of supply by growing and making a wine which, however deficient in natural sweetness and bouquet, would be the pure juice of the grape, and, therefore, would enable them and the neighbouring clergy to carry on their ministry and to celebrate Mass.

Most of the Abbeys, it must be remembered, were situated in fertile and well-sheltered valleys, so that the choicest exposures for the culture of the vine might be found in their neighbourhood. Many of the monks were foreigners, mostly French, and were familiar with the best mode of cultivating the grape-vine. The time and labour required for overcoming the natural disadvantages of the climate were practically unlimited, so that vines could be grown, and were actually grown, in several parts of England, in the North, in the Midlands, in East Anglia and in the South by religious Houses, with a fair amount of success.

It must not be forgotten, either, that the soil was far more favourable to viticulture then than it is now, after being impoverished by so many centuries of culture.\*

But, at the same time, we cannot accept as a fact Dr. Plott's statement that "the Britons planted vineyards and made wines anciently over all the kingdom;" † there is no documentary evidence whatever to warrant such an assertion, whereas we have the trustworthy testimony of the Venerable Bede (672-735), who tells us that, at the beginning of the eighth century, at the time when he

\*In the extreme part of Normandy, bordering on Brittany, wine was made in the early Middle Ages all along the coast, but vines have ceased to be cultivated in this district for many centuries; all the

ancient vineyards of Normandy, Brittany, and Northern France which enjoyed a period of repute have also long ceased to exist.

† Dr. Plott. *Natural History of Staffordshire*, p. 380.

was writing, the culture of the vine had made *some* progress in Britain, and that there were vineyards in *a few places*, "*vineas quibusdam in locis germinans.*"\*

The culture of the vine in England, at any time and under whatever conditions, cannot have been attended with sufficient success to have induced the *Britons* to have vineyards "over all the kingdom." Besides the religious Houses, for whom viticulture was a necessity, the King and a few wealthy landowners had vineyards, for pleasure more than for profit. These were, however, few in number, and there is only very scant evidence of their having existed.

In the laws of Alfred (871-901) there is a mention of a vineyard,† and Edgar (957-975) makes a gift of a vineyard, situated at Wycet, together with the vine-dressers on the estate.

After the Norman Conquest, the number of English vineyards increased rapidly, but they were cultivated, according to Camden,‡ to no mercantile purpose; the home-made wines of the Norman kings and lords were drunk only at their table and it cannot be said that viticulture in England bears any direct relation to the English wine trade.

It is a subject, however, which possesses sufficient features of interest in connection with the history of wine in England, to be dealt with here at some length, and in such a manner that further

\* Hist. Eccles. Gentis Angl. T. I. p. L.

† "Si quis damnum intulerit alterius vineæ, vel agro, vel alicui ejus terræ, compenset sicut ejus illud æstimet" (Cap. XXVI). He who does some damage to the vine of his neighbour, or his field, or any

of his land, let him make good whatever will be claimed.

‡ "... umbraculi magis quam fructus gratia habuimus. Camden, Britannia. London, 1590, p. 199. Henry of Huntingdon wrote, Vineæ fertilis est, sed raro. Monumenta Hist. Brit., p. 603.

references to English vineyards may be omitted elsewhere in the course of the present work.

The culture of the vine received renewed, and probably more scientific, attention after the Conquest. In many districts, especially where great religious establishments had been formed, vineyards were to be seen: Worcester, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Hereford and Ledbury can still point to their ancient sites. There are also proofs that vineyards were planted, among other places, in the village of Westminster; at Chenetone, in Middlesex; at Ware, in Hertfordshire; at Hanten, in Worcestershire, and at Winchester.\*

In Domesday Book, under the title of Rageneia, there is a record of six arpents of vines, among the lands of Suein, in Essex, which, it is said, yielded twenty casks (modii) of wine in good years.† Henry de Ferrieres is also mentioned in Domesday as the owner of twelve arpents planted in vines at Bisham, in Berkshire.‡

Vines were even grown at the Abbey of Ramsey, in East Anglia, although this monastery was situated in the midst of a watery fen, accessible only on one side by an artificial causeway, and surrounded by ash and alder wood. In the chronicles of the abbey, vine-dressers, *vinitores*, are mentioned as forming part of the lay staff of labourers, during the reign of Henry I., in 1114 and 1134.§

\* Outside Kingsgate (Winchester) there was a church called *All Saints in the Vineyards*, and a *vine-dresser* lived in Wongar or Wunegre Street, in the reign of Stephen. A General History of Hampshire. Milner, Vol. I., p. 200.

† Domesday Book, T. II., fol. 43b. "1 parens VI. arpenni vineæ reddit xx modios vini si bene procedit."

‡ Domesday Book, T. I., fol. 60. verso.

§ Chronicon Abbatiss Ramesiensis a Sæculo X usque ad an circiter 1200. Preface, p. xxvii, p. 262 and p. 271.

See also Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia. Edit. by W. H. Hart and the Rev. Ponsonby A. Lyons, Vol. I., pp. 288, 299, 302, 325, 336, 356. Vol. II., pp. 27, 29, 41, 46, 140, 150, 236, 340. ol. III., p. 233.

In the register of Spalding Priory, we read of John, the Almoner, who bought lands, laid out a garden, and planted a vineyard and orchards—*plantavit vineam et pomeria*.\*

Towards the middle of the twelfth century, we are told by William of Malmesbury, vineyards were no longer confined to a few places, but extended over large tracts of country, producing a great quantity of excellent wine: "You may behold," he observes, when describing the fertility of the vale at Gloucester, "the paths and public roads fenced with apple trees, which are not planted by the hand of man but grow spontaneously. . . .

"This district, too, exhibits a greater number of vineyards than any other county in England, yielding abundant crops and of superior quality; nor are the wines made here by any means harsh or ungrateful to the palate, for, in point of sweetness, they may almost bear comparison with the growths of France."†

In the reign of Stephen, there is a mention, in 1140, of two vineyards at Mealdon,‡ and, in the same year, the Sheriffs of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire were allowed, in their accounts, "for the livery of the King's vine-dresser at Rockingham, and for necessities for the vineyards."§ There

\* MS. Cole. Vol. XLIII., p. 93.

† Regio plusquam alia Angliæ provinciæ vinearum frequentia den-  
tior proventu uberior, sapore jucun-  
dior, vina enim ipsa libentium ora  
non tristi torquent acedine, quippe  
quæ parum debeant Gallicis dulce-  
dine. De Gestis Pontific. Anglic.  
apud Scriptores post Bedam, p. 283.

‡ Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. rot. 14a.  
In Catalogue of Antiquities at the  
Tower, Vol. III. (British Museum).

§ Ricardus Basset et Albericus  
de Ver r. c. de firma de Norham-

tescira et Legrecestrescira. In  
thesauro cc et xlix l., et iis. et L (sic)  
d. ad pens; Et in Liberationibus  
constitutis, vii l. et xii s. et L (sic)  
d. ad pens; Et in Liberationibus  
constitutis, vii l. et vii s. et i d.  
numero; Et in Liberatione Vine-  
toris de Rockingham, xxx s. et v  
d. numero; Et in Procuracione  
vineæ, xx s. Et quieti sunt.  
Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. rot. 9 a. Nor-  
hamt. et Leic. Madox, History of  
the Exchequer, p. 249.

is also an Act of this monarch, which is undated, but which from internal evidence may be safely attributed to A.D. 1143, ordering that restoration should be made to Holy Trinity Priory, London, of its land in Smithfield, which Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, had seized and converted into a vineyard.\*

In the fourth year of the reign of Henry II., payments appear to have been made and charged to the Royal Exchequer for the keeper of the vineyard, who received on one occasion sixty shillings and tenpence, as well as for the expenses of the said royal vineyard.† Later on, during the same reign, in 1159, 1162, 1165, 1168, 1174 and 1175, there are frequent mentions of the royal vineyards at Windsor, Purley, Stoke, Cistelet, and in Herefordshire and Huntingdonshire‡; in 1165, there is an entry of a vineyard at Tenham, the produce of

\* Ancient Deeds. Series A. No. 6683. S. Rex. Angl. Epo. Lond. Justic. Vic. Baron. ministr. omnib. fidelib. suis franco. Anglis Lond. 331. Sciatis qia reddidi concessi Deo Ecclie. See Trinitatis Lond. Canonicis regularib. ibid. Xpo. Servientib. p. Anima Reg. Hen. p. salute mea Mathild. Regine uxoris mee. Eustac filii mei Alioz Pueroz meoz in pptuu tram sua de Smethefelda qam Comes Gaufrid poccupaverat ad vinea sua faciend. qare Volo firmit pcipio qd. bn. in pace libe quiete honorifice teneant habeant tram pdictam sicut meli libius quieti tenent Alias tras suas sicut Rex. Henr. ille eis concessit carta sua confirmauit. A. M. Regina. Thoma capello. Willo de Ipra. Ric. de Luci. apd. Lond.—Ancient Charters, prior to A.D. 1200. part I., pp. 48, 49. Pipe Roll Society, Vol. X. See also Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. I., p. 3.

† Pipe Roll of 4th year of Henry II. 163. (Record Commission.)

Et In libat Const. Willo fib Holdegari. xxx. s. v. d. Et Alano Cornatori xxx. s. v. d. Et P. Curatori vinee lx. s. x. d. Et In Custamto uinee. xiii. s. ii. d. Et Epo de Eli, v. s.

And in fixed payments to William, son of Holdegar, 30s. 5d. And to Alan Cornator, 30s. 5d. And to the Keeper of the Vineyard, 60s. 10d. For the expenses of the vineyard, 13s. 2d. And to the Bishop of Ely, 5s. In all £6 19s. 10d.

‡ Pipe Rolls. 6 Hen. II. rot. 5. m. 1.; 9 Hen. II. rot. 6. m. 2., rot. 5. m. 2., rot. 1. m. 2.; 12 Hen. II. rot. 10. m. 2., rot. 9. m. 2., m. 2d., rot. 8. m. 1 in schedulo, rot. 6. m. 2.; 21 Hen. II. rot. 13. m. 1d., rot. 9. m. 2, m. 1d., m. 1.; 22 Hen. II. rot. 9. m. 1d., rot. 5. m. 1d., rot. 3. m. 1., m. 2d.



which seems to have been devoted to the sick at the infirmary.\*

During the first year of the reign of King Richard, there are three mentions of vineyards,† and others occur during the reigns of Henry III., at Lincoln,‡ Bath\* and Hereford, of Edward II. at York,§ and as late as that of Richard II., in 1385 and 1392, at Windsor|| and Kennington.¶ At the beginning of Edward I.'s reign, in 1276, Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, either planted or renewed the vine-

\* Et in custamento vineæ de Tenham, £4 4s. 9d.; et in vindemia anni præteriti, unde infirmi habuerunt vinum, £1 13s. 0d. Mag. Rot. 12 Hen. II. 9a. F. X. Vispré. Dissertation on the growth of the vine in England. Bath. 1786.

† Et vindemiatori pro custodia vineæ de Purley, 4s. 8d. Et in custamenti vindemiandi, et pro tonellis, 8s. 1d. Tit. Hon. Constabulariæ vineæ. Mag. Rot. 1 Ric. rot. 1; rot. 11; rot. 16; Cat. of Ant. at the Tower, Vol. III.

‡ H. Lincolnensis Episcopus r. c. de D maris, Quod ipse et Successores sui in perpetuum, non obstante aliqua consuetudine qua Rex vel Antecessores sui aliquo tempore usi fuerint, quacumque parte anni idem Episcopus vel aliquis Successorum suorum decesserit, habeat omnia bona sua mobilia, et omnes fructus tam de bladis in terra sua seminatis ante mortem suam, quam fructus virgultorum vinearum eodem anno, scilicet usque ad festum S. Michaelis proximam post mortem eorundem provenientes; Ita quod nec Rex, nec aliquis hæredum suorum, nec aliquis ballivorum suorum inde in aliquo se unquam intromittat, vel ad ea manum extendat; Sed liberum sit eidem Episcopo et Successoribus suis, et Executoribus eorum inde facere et disponere omnino pro voluntate sua, absque impedimento ipsius Regis vel here-

dum suorum, vel ballivorum suorum: Et quod Executores eorum absque impedimento Regis, vel heredum suorum, vel ballivorum suorum habeant aisiamenta Curiarum, Grangiarum, Torcularium, Granariorum, et aliarum Domorum quæ eorum Episcoporum fuerunt, ad repouenda et conservanda bona sua prædicta in eis, donec rationaliter debeant Provisoribus fructuum anni sequentis per eosdem Executores liberati. Mag. Rot. 15 Hen. III. Tit. Lincolneschira.

\* Ibid. Tit. Dorset et Somerset; in dorso.

Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 289 and 290.

§ *Vinarium juxta Ebor.* Inquisitio amplissima de bundis et proficiis ejusdem. Inq. 17 Ed. II. Cat. of Ant. at the Tower, Vol. III. Mr. Lawrence, in the introduction of his Gardener's Kalendar, published in 1718, says he would prefer for vines a sandy gravelly soil, well guarded, near York, to heavy ground as far south as Devonshire and Cornwall. F. X. Vispré. A dissertation on the growth of the vine in England.

|| Calend. Patent Rolls, 9 Ric. II., part I., m. 24.

¶ Calend. Patent Rolls, 16 Ric. II. part II., m. 13. Grant, for life, to John Bache, one of the grooms of the Chamber, of the keepership of the vineyard in Kenyngton manor, etc.

yard\* which his pupil and successor, Swinfield, had at Ledbury. In 1289, the Bishop made seven casks (dolia) of white wine and nearly one of verjuice at Ledbury.† This wine was chiefly transferred to Bosbury, another estate of the Bishop, and it was mostly drunk during the ensuing summer.‡

Ledbury must have been particularly well suited for the culture of the grape vine, since as late as the end of the seventeenth century, George Skipp, a descendant of Bishop Skipp, made both red and white wine from his plantation at Upper Hall, in the parish of Ledbury.§

According to Somner, Canterbury Church and St. Augustine's Abbey were possessed of numerous vineyards, amongst which those at Colton, St. Martin's, Chertham, Brook and Hollingburn are specially named.||

At Halling, near Rochester, the Bishop of that See is stated by Lambarde to have had a vineyard and to have made wine, of which a present was sent to Edward II.; according to the same authority, there used to be, after the Conquest, a great many

\* In a letter to his steward, J. de Bradeham, in 1276, Cantilupe remarks: "De modo faciendi vineam nostram de Ledebyr, vobis apertius scribemus; sed quia tempus non adest in brevi eandem faciendi, distulimus de factura ejusdem plus ista vice mandare." Reg. Cant. f. 33b. Cf. A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford. Abstract, etc., p. xliv.

† A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, p. 59., March 2, 1290.

‡ It was not, however, appropriated to household use without being allowed for among the produce of the farm (vinum album emptum et allocatum); the seven pipes of wine and nearly one of verjuice of the 1289 vintage were valued at £8. See A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, etc., December 3, 1289, and July 11, 1290.

§ A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, etc. Abstract and illustrations, p. cxxxii. note.

|| Somner. Antiq. Canter. p. 145

vines at Santlac, near Battle, in Sussex, probably belonging to the abbey of that name.\*

Having a staff of skilled vine-dressers and many vines to which much labour and money had been devoted for some years, Churchmen were loth to give up this culture; at the same time, being able to obtain much superior wines from the Continent at low prices, they did not feel bound to drink the produce of their own vineyards, which they attempted to sell.

The archives of the Church of Ely have preserved an account of such transactions, which shows how little saleable home-grown wine was made, and that it frequently happened that the grapes could not reach a proper state of maturity, no wine but verjuice being all that could be obtained.

	£	s.	d.
Exitus vineti - - - - -	2	15	3½
Exitus vineæ - - - - -	10	12	2½
Ten bushels of grapes from the vineyard -	0	7	6
Seven dolia musti from the vineyard, 12			
Edw. II. - - - - -	15	1	0
Wine sold for - - - - -	1	12	0
Verjuice - - - - -	1	7	0
One dolium and one pipe filled with new wine and supposed at Ely - - -			
For wine out of this vineyard - - -	1	2	2
For verjuice from thence - - -	0	16	0
No wine but verjuice made, 9 Edw. IV.† -			—

An entry in a Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for the year 1208-9, shows that the Bishop of that See also sold wines, although it is not recorded whether they were home-grown or of foreign origin.‡

\* W. Lambarde. Topographical Dictionary of England, p. 350.

† William Speechly. A treatise on the culture of the vine, London, 1790, p. 187.

‡ Et de x s. vi d. de vino Radulfo

vendito, per mamum Willelmi Clop. parde. Et de xx s. de vinis venditis Arnolfo vinitario. Suwerke. Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester. 1208-9. p. 60.

We are told by Stowe that, among the archives at the Court of Pleas of the Forest and Honours at Windsor: "is to be seen the yearly account of the charges of the planting of the vines, that in the time of King Richard II. grew in great plenty within the little park, as also the making of the wine itself, whereof some part was spent in the King's house, and some part sold to his profit, the tithes whereof were paid to the abbot of Waltham, then parson both of the New and Old Windlesore."\* It was probably, however, only the refuse of the vintages which thus came into the market, and that in no great quantity.

As regards the manner and mode employed for cultivating vineyards in England during the early Middle Ages, the only evidence we have is that furnished by William of Malmesbury who, describing the domain of Thorney, in the Isle of Ely, which he compares to an earthly Paradise, says: "It is so fully cultivated that no portion of the soil is left unoccupied. On the one hand, it may be seen thickly studded with apple trees; on the other, covered with vines, *which either trail along the ground, or are trained on high and supported on poles.*"†

This last passage alone should have convinced those historians who have always denied the possibility of vines being grown and wine being made in England. Mr. Barriston, for instance, has always

\* Stowe, Chronicle, p. 143.

† Nulla ibi vel exigua terræ portio vacat. Hic in pomiferis terra se subrigit; hic prætexitur ager vineis, quæ vel per terram repunt, vel per bajulos palos in

celsum surgunt. De Gestis Pontific. Anglic. apud Scriptores post Bedam; p. 294. Cf. Henderson, History of Ancient and Modern Wines, 1824, p. 272.

argued that the early chroniclers meant perry or cider, and not wine, when they wrote *vinum*; such an argument is absolutely groundless, since words existed for both perry and cider, as appears in an account of 1174, when six shillings and eightpence were paid to the farmer of Windsor for *Wine and Perry and Cider*—*et in custamento Vini et Pirati et Siceræ*, VI s. et VIII d.\*

According to Twyne, the decay of the culture of the vine in England dates from the reign of Henry III., when the possession of Guyenne had been permanently assured, and when the great influx of French wines, which characterised the reign of King John, had shown the husbandman that land could be turned to better account in England.†

#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

The authority and wealth of the clergy of Gaul, great as they already were before the fifth century, increased rapidly after the conversion of Clovis to Christianity. The first Christian king of the Franks and his successors had nothing to refuse to the Church, to whom they owed, in a large measure, the elevation of their dynasty. Abbeys were founded and richly endowed throughout the land, those of Saint Wandrille, Jumièges, Fécamp, Saint Saens and Fleury in Normandy being, amongst others, famed for their wealth,† their good works and their enterprise.

\* Mag. Rot. 21 Hen. II. Rot. 9a. Windsor. Cf. Madox, History of the Exchequer, Ch. x. p. 251.

† Comment. de Rebus Albion. Joh. Twyne, p. 116. "Verum hæc (vinæ) et quotquot in Anglia fuerant, ad vinum comparatæ, temporum vicissitudine et incolarum socordia deficere, maxime Henrici Tertii, Johannis filii, temporibus cœpere, cum gliscentibus domesticis et externis bellis, nostrates Gallicum vinum et sanguinem ardentius istirent."

‡ The Abbey of Saint Wandrille alone possessed 4,264 "manse" or families of labourers, which consisted of over 25,000 persons. Spicilegium, in fol. t. ii., p. 277, col. 2, Chron. Fontanellense. Fréville, Hist. de Rouen, Vol. I. p. 50. The Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, at Paris, had a revenue which has been valued at over a million (French money). B. Guérard, *Prolegom. du Polyptique d'Irminon*, p. 903.

The famous rule of St. Benedict, which ordered manual work for the monks, was then strictly adhered to in all monasteries, where wool, wax and metals were worked with great skill, whilst agriculture, farming and viticulture were resorted to on a large scale. All these religious establishments had neither customs nor taxes to pay, their members were able to travel in safety and sometimes at the expense of the State,\* and they enjoyed, besides, so many other privileges, that it is only natural that they should have been tempted to engage in commercial transactions, in spite of all ecclesiastical canons and royal decrees to the contrary.

The produce of their labour and that of their numerous dependents was much too great for their wants; on the other hand, they required metals for building and ornamental purposes, wool for their clothing, and other such articles which could easily be procured in England in exchange for the wines of their vineyards, and the silks and spices they received from the South.

Such exchanges could not be prohibited altogether, and Charlemagne specified in his orders on the subject that neither ecclesiastics nor monks were allowed to do any commerce in the way merchants did, that is, buying goods to sell them again.†

Such prohibitions were, however, useless, and the privileges of the clergy proved so great and were turned to such good account, that the legitimate trade of the country languished until the advent of the unruly Normans, who destroyed most of the largest abbeys which were never allowed to regain, in after times, the commercial ascendancy they had once enjoyed.

One of the most important privileges enjoyed by monastic orders was that of free navigation, in times when most if not all the transport trade was carried on the rivers and waterways of the realm. The absence, the bad state, or the insecurity of the roads rendered fluvial carriage both more rapid and more economic, and the king as well as many lords, temporal and

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\* Chilperic II., confirming, in 716, the gifts of Clotaire III. and Queen Batilda, to the Abbey of Corbie, says that the cellarer and his companions shall have the right to have, every year, when going from Corbie to Fos, on the Rhone, and on the return journey, horses, bread, wine, and a quantity of other necessaries. *Prolégom. du Polyp-tique d'Irminon*, p. 806. Cf. *Fréville, Commerce maritime de Rouen*, Vol. I., p. 51.

† Baluze. *Capitul. t. I. Coll. d'An-ségies Liv. Ier.*, § 22.

spiritual, availed themselves of this necessity of the traders by charging tolls and duties on fluvial navigation.

The oldest monastery to enjoy the privilege of "franche nef" was that of St. Mesmin, near Orleans, which had been endowed by Clovis. This monastery was allowed three vessels, free of all duties, on the rivers Loire, Cher, Vienne, Sarthe, Mayenne, Loir, Seine, and the Marne.\* In 779, Charlemagne granted to the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, at Paris, that their ships shall be free of "tonlieu" at Rouen, Quentowich, Amiens, Utrecht, Wyk-te-Duerstede, and Pont Sainte Maxence.†

These privileges enabled abbots and bishops to travel incessantly, visiting their districts and even sending missionaries abroad. St. Filibert, who founded the abbey of Jumièges, used to find ships at his own expense, and to send some of his monks with large sums of money to redeem prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the pagans of the North. It was thus that St. Saens was brought back from Ireland to Jumièges.‡

That the monks, especially those of Paris and Normandy, often visited England is obvious, since this was the easiest way for them to procure the lead, the tin and other metals of which they stood in need for their churches and other buildings.§

Actual proofs of the monastic relations between France and England in Saxon times are still extant; there is, for instance, a charter of Offa, King of Mercia, confirming, in 790, certain gifts which had been made in a port of his kingdom, to the abbey of St. Denis.||

\* Rec. des Hist. de France, t. VI. p. 556.

† Rec. des Hist. de France, t. V. p. 742. Fréville, Com. marit. de Rouen, t. I. p. 55.

‡ Acta S.S. ord. S. Bened. Sac II., p. 822. Vita S. Filiberti.

§ The spire of the principal tower of the Church of St. Wandrille was

covered by St. Anségise with different metals which had undoubtedly been bought in England by the monks. Spicilegium. in folio. T. II., p. 281, col. 1. Chron. Fontanell.  
|| Dom Doublet. Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denis. Fréville, Com. mar. de Rouen, t. I., p. 56.

## CHAPTER II.

THE civilising influence of the early Christian priests who came to Britain was very great, and whilst the more orderly state of society which was brought about by their teachings rendered internal trade possible, their close relations and constant communications with the Continent facilitated the growth of foreign commerce.

Wine was imported into England during the fifth century, since it was served at the feast given by Hengist to Vortigern, when Rowena, who was soon to become the British chief's bride, drank his health in a golden bowl "filled with wine."\*

In the following century, the fact that the princely Murchertach, son of Erc, fell and was drowned in a butt of wine, is vouched for by the learned editor of the Tripartite life of St. Patrick, in the annals from the Book of Leinster.†

There is, however, very little doubt that the foreign trade of England, such as it was, was practically annihilated when the Saxons obtained the mastery of the northern seas, desolated the coasts of England and, by degrees, conquered almost the whole of the land. Under their heathen conquerors, the inhabitants of Britain relapsed into comparative barbarism and

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\* See *The Wine Drinker's Manual*, London, 1830, p. 214. with other documents relating to that Saint. Edited by Whitley Stokes.

† *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, T. II., p. 513.



every trace of former religion and commerce disappeared from these islands.

The revival of civilisation came again from Rome, not, as at first, with the victorious Roman legions, but by an influence far more powerful and humanising, that of St. Augustine. The Apostle of England did more than bring the tidings of salvation to a barbarous people, he established a hierarchy in the land to preserve the work that he had started. This hierarchy was a well-ordered society, in constant communication with other societies abroad, and receiving continual encouragement and enlightenment from an authority of considerable weight at Rome. Its influence on the social and commercial life of the Saxons was very great, and their piratical instincts were diverted into the more peaceful channels of foreign trade.

Besides, when the conquest of the bulk of Britain had been completed by the Saxons in the sixth century, the older wars of extermination came to an end ; the new settlers realised the folly of ruthless destruction, and agriculture, trade and progress received more attention. This was particularly the case in Kent, where the kingdom of the Jutes rose suddenly into greatness under Ethelbert, who, before 597, had "established his supremacy over the Saxons of Middlesex and Essex, as well as over the English of East Anglia and of Mercia as far north as the Humber and the Trent."\*

The overlordship of Ethelbert was marked by a renewal of that intercourse of Britain with the Continent which had been broken off by the conquests

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\* Green. *Short History of the English People*. (The Northumbrian Kingdom, A.D. 588-685.

of the Anglo-Saxons. His marriage with Bertha, the daughter of the King of the Franks, and his reception of St. Augustine created a fresh tie between his kingdom and Gaul.

Daring mariners and born seamen as were the Saxons, they were not slow in availing themselves of the renewed intercourse between Britain and Western Christendom ; thus, as early as the beginning of the eighth century, we find a merchant from England sojourning at Marseilles.\*

But by far the most important port of Gaul as regards the foreign trade of Britain in Saxon times, was Rouen, whence most of the wine came that was consumed in this country.

The antiquity of the commercial relations existing between Rouen and England is very remote. When Strabo depicted the flourishing state of Gaul, at the very beginning of the first century, he mentioned Rouen as the port whence goods reached Great Britain in less than a day. According to this author, the products of Southern Gaul were sent by way of the rivers Rhône and Saône, then carted to the Seine and brought to Rouen.† This gave rise to a corporation of traders going up and down the Seine with merchandise, called “*nautes*.”

That the commercial relations between England and Rouen had again become active in the seventh century, is evidenced by a charter of Dagobert,

\* Lappenberg. *England under the Saxon Kings*, Vol. II., p. 364.

† Rhodanus sursum navigari potest longo satis spatio, idque magnis navium oneribus, quae ipsa per varias regionis partes possunt distrahi; cum in Rhodanum incidentia flumina sint navigabilia et vehendis magnis oneribus idonea.

Excipit enim ea Arar et in hunc influens Dubis; exinde usque ad Sequanam fluvium terra merces transportatur; hinc secundo amne defaruntur ad Oceanum, et Lexobios et Caletos; inde in Britanniam diurno brevior est cursus. Strabo Lib. IV. Fréville, *Com. marit. de Rouen*, Vol. I., p. 11.

king of the Franks, dated 629, granting to the Abbey of St. Denis a yearly fair, to be held on the road from Paris to St. Denis, to which those foreign merchants are invited who annually come at that time to Rouen and Quentowich.\* It is worthy of remark that this fair was to begin on October 9th and to last four weeks, and the presence of English merchants in Rouen and Quentowich at this time of the year, during or soon after the vintage, seems certainly to point to the fact that they came to fetch the new wines, this, as will be shown later, being for several centuries their custom.

Quentowich, which has long since ceased to exist, was then a very flourishing port doing an extensive trade with England until A.D. 842, when it was completely destroyed by the Normans. It was situated at the mouth of the Canche, and had been lost sight of for many centuries when its ruins were identified about eighty years ago, by Mr. Ch. Hennequier, of Montreuil, in the existing villages of Val-en-Cendre and Wis-es-Mareetz.†

During the reign of Charlemagne (768-814) it was a very busy port and, with Rouen, the centre of the export trade of France to England.‡ It

\* Doublet. *Histoire de St. Denis*, p. 655. Cf. Fréville, *Com. marit. de Rouen*, T. I., p. 26.

† F. C. Louandre. *Histoire d'Abbeville et du Ponthieu*, T. I. p. 27. Cf. *Histoire de France*, T. III. p. 580a and 600e. Prudent. *Trec. Annal.* Bertin. anno 842, etc. Fréville. *Com. marit. de Rouen*, T. I., p. 33.

‡ The commercial importance of Quentowich was greater than that of Rouen; Charlemagne had established a mint there, of which that of Rouen, which was only estab-

lished in 864, by Charles the Bald, was but a dependence. "*Constituimus ut in nullo loco alio, in omni regno nostro, moneta fiat, nisi in palatio nostro, et in Quentovico ac Rotomago (quæ moneta ad Quentovicum ex antiqua consuetudine pertinet), et in Rems, et in Senonis, etc. Edict. Pist. c. 12, apud Baluze. Capitul. T. II., col. 178. We decree that in no other place, in all our kingdom, money shall be struck, except in our palace, and at Quentowich, also at Rouen (where the coinage is, from ancient custom, that of*

was the residence of a commercial prefect (præfectus emporii Quentovici) and it was the port of the Frankish Empire where the greatest revenue was collected from the customs levied on all incoming and outgoing goods.\*

Offa, King of Mercia, was jealous of the ever rising power of the Frankish Emperor, Charlemagne, and he does not seem to have responded very willingly to the overtures made several times by the latter for the betterment and increase of the commercial relations between the two kingdoms.

On one occasion Charles sent over the Prefect of Quentowich on an embassy, the result of which however, was evidently little successful, since it was not recorded.†

In 790, the relations between the two monarchs became so strained that the good Abbot Gervold, fearing a rupture, the effects of which would have been ruinous for the trade of both nations, and disastrous for the Royal Exchequer of which he had charge, wrote imploringly to Offa, begging of him not to break off friendly relations publicly and not

*Quentowich), and at Reims, and at Soissons, etc.*

The coins of both Quentowich and Rouen bore a ship as a distinctive mark indicating the maritime importance of these two towns. At Wykte-Duerstede, near Utrecht, a port which ceased to exist when the Rhine changed its course, a similar money to that at Quentowich was used at the time. *Leblanc. Traité des monnaies*, pp. 102, 103. *Fréville. Com. marit. de Rouen, T. I. p. 34.*

\* The monk who wrote the *Chronique de Saint Wandrille*, where this statement appears, ought to have been well informed since his

Abbot, Gervold, was for a long time, *Receveur Général* of all the customs of the Kingdom.

† Grippio . . . præfectus emporii Quentovici, jussu præcellentissimi regis Caroli quadam legatione functus est, in insulâ Britannicâ, ad reges gentis Anglorum . . . *Mira. S. Wandregisili, auct. anonymo noni sæculi, apud Acta, S. S. ordin. S. Benedicti, T. VI. p. 554. Fréville. Com. mar. de Rouen, T. I. p. 34. Grippio . . . Prefect of the commercial city of Quentowich was, by order of the most illustrious King Charles, entrusted with a certain mission to the Kings of the English people, in the island of Britain.*

to order his subjects to cease all commerce with France.\*

The Abbot succeeded, not only in avoiding the threatened conflict between Offa and Charles, but also in bringing them, a few years later, to a complete reconciliation.

There still exists the original of a letter of Charlemagne to Offa, in which the Frankish Emperor compliments the King of Mercia on his Christian sentiments, and assures him that all pilgrims going from England to Italy and Rome through France will be free of all tolls, which, however, must be paid by those who only come to France to trade there ; all alike may be sure, adds the Emperor, of his protection and justice.†

\* Gervoldus . . . super regni negotia procurator constituitur, per diversos portus ac civitates exigens tributa ac vectigalia, maxime in Quentowich. Unde Offa, regi Anglorum sive Merciorum potentissimo, in amicitia valde cognoscitur adjunctus. Extant adhuc epistolæ ab eo ad illum, id est Gervoldum, directæ, quibus se amicum et familiarem illius carissimum fore pronuntiat. Nam multis vicibus ipse, per se, jussione invictissimi regis Caroli (magni) ad præfatum regem Offam legationibus functus est : novissime vero propter filiam ejusdem regis, quam in conjugium exspostulabat Carolus junior. Sed illo hoc non acquiescente nisi Berta, filia Caroli magni ejus filio nuptui traderetur, aliquantulum rex potentissimus commotus præcepit ut nemo de Britannia insula ac gente Anglorum, mercimonii causâ, litus Oceani maris attingeret in Galliam. Sed ne hoc fieret, admonitione ac supplicatione venerandi prædicti patris Gervoldi inhibuitur est. (Chron. Fontanell. apud D'Achery, Spicilegium, T. II. p. 278, col. 1).

† De perigrinis qui, pro amore Dei et salute animarum suarum

beatorum apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni servantes, sed lucrum sectantes, inter eas inveniantur, locis opportunis, statuta solvant telonea. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut, ex mandato nostro, patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitime : et si aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclamant se ad nos vel nostros judices, et plenam jubebimus justitiam fieri (Baluze. *Capitul.*, T. I. col. 273-4).

The pilgrims who, for the love of God and the salvation of their souls, wish to go to the tombs of the holy Apostles, they may proceed in peace and without impediment. But those who, not being devoted to religion, but given up to lucre, buy, between themselves, in suitable places, they must pay the established customs. It is our wish that merchants also, by our order, enjoy our protection in our realm by right ; and if they should be unjustly oppressed in any part, let them complain to us or our judges and we order that full justice be done to them.

The share taken by the wine trade in the renewed commercial activity between the Continent and England during the reign of Charlemagne cannot be ascertained with any precision. It is, however, beyond doubt that it was fairly important, since we know that the chief export trade of Rouen to England and Ireland was in wines, and since we have unmistakeable proofs that wine was drunk to a certain extent in both islands. In the Book of Armagh, it is said that they kept the Easter festivities, in the year 807, at Temoria's palace, in eating and drinking wine :—*manducatibus illis et bibentibus vinum in palatio Temoriæ*.\*

Commerce, however, was perforce limited on account of the insecurity of the roads and the difficulties of developing the internal trade of the country. Although Egbert, who became Overlord of the Heptarchy in 827, and who had been educated at the Court of Charlemagne, did his best to foster the foreign trade of England, his efforts were of no avail; he had no navy to protect the ever threatened eastern and southern coasts of Britain, and could give no protection whatever to the maritime commerce which was practically annihilated during the ninth century by the Danish raiders who succeeded in establishing colonies in many parts of East Anglia.

It was not before the reign of Alfred that both the internal and foreign trade of England regained their former prosperity; this monarch organised the commerce of the nation on a sound and legal basis, by establishing taxes and customs which rendered the position of the foreign trader definite, whilst his obligations were limited and became precise.

\* The Book of Armagh, in the Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other documents relating to that

Saint. Ed. by Whitley Stokes, 1887, T. I., p. 282.

From the first, the kings had exercised a personal protection over the few chapmen who wandered in their dominions with an assortment of goods for sale ; the royal favour was, however, granted only to such of these as had presented the monarch with gifts.\* When the Saxon kings began to consider such gifts, which were more often than not exacted from the helpless traders, as due to them, and when regular and fixed rates of tolls and customs were substituted for these offerings, the merchant found it to his advantage.

Alfred was the first to fix a certain rate of customs to be paid by all foreign traders, first of all at the port where they should land with their goods, or import duty ; and also what fees they were to pay at the place where the sale of their goods was effected. In return, the foreigner had the right to demand justice and he was assured of the effective protection of the king and all the royal officers.

Both Edward I. and Athelstan, Alfred's son and grandson, followed the same commercial policy, and the Anglo-Saxon dooms contain much legislation concerning the protection traders were entitled to and the punishment of commercial crime. Business was to be conducted publicly and before witnesses, as it might have been otherwise difficult for a man to prove that an honestly purchased article had not been stolen by him, unless his statement was supported by testimony ; hence the obligations of trading "*in port*, at fairs or markets." †

\* This is still the policy adhered to by missionaries or pioneers of commerce in barbarous and uncivilised lands.

† See Laws of Edward I., t. I. Thorpe, vol. I., p. 159. Laws of

Æthelstan, 10, 12. Thorpe, vol. I., p. 205. Laws of Edgar, Supplement 8. Thorpe, vol. I., p. 275. See also W. Cunningham. Growth of English industry and commerce. Early and Middle Ages, p. 129.

There seems to be a sign of Danish influence in the improved legal status which merchants came to enjoy, and it was a Danish law, which Athelstan promulgated :

*“ That if a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he henceforth of thane right worthy.”\**

Among the Danes, trading was a profession worthy of a prince, and the merchant and his crew were always *very honourably welcomed*.† There is, besides, very little doubt that the improvement in the trade of Britain which characterised the reigns of the later Saxon kings, was due to a large extent to the Danish settlers in East Anglia. The several invasions of Danes which took place in the ninth and tenth centuries, infused new blood and new energy in the land and gave birth to a far more extensive system of commerce. They introduced a more general use of coins as a medium of exchange, and this measure alone had the most beneficial and far-reaching effects.

To these shrewd and enterprising Danish settlers has also been attributed the growth of well situated villages to towns, which became centres of regular trade, and the foundation of new cities at places best suited for commerce.‡

The elements of commercial prosperity which had thus been introduced in England received a very

\* Ranks, 6. Thorpe, vol. I., p. 193.

† Beamish. Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, p. 85.

‡ Many of these once prosperous ports, such as Dunwich, have long since disappeared altogether in the ever encroaching North Sea. The

wealth and the leading part played by the Eastern counties in the commercial life of England throughout the Middle Ages were due to the Danish origin of many towns and the large proportion of men of Danish descent amongst their inhabitants.



remarkable development during the reign of Edgar, under the wise government of Dunstan :

“ His stern hand restored justice and order, while his care of commerce was shown in the laws which regulated the coinage and the enactments of commonweights and measures for the realm. . . . Commerce sprang into a wide life. Men of the Empire, traders of Lower Lorraine and the Rhineland, and men of Rouen were seen in the streets of London, and it was by the foreign trade which sprang up in Dunstan’s time that London rose to the commercial greatness it has held ever since.”\*

It is from that time onwards that we find documentary proofs of the magnitude as well as of the antiquity of the English wine trade. Rouen enjoyed during the tenth and eleventh centuries a monopoly of the trade in French wines sent abroad from the interior, by the Seine. The navigation of the lower Seine, from Rouen to the Channel, was free to citizens of the Metropolis of Normandy, and all the export trade of French wines to England was in their hands. The privileges they had in Dunstan’s time were amplified by Ethelred II. and his son, Edward the Confessor, who had been educated in Normandy, where he lived twenty-seven years. The traders of Rouen had a special port of their own, called Dunegate, on the Thames, in London,† whilst the Germans, who, according to Heyd,‡ came probably from the fair at Frankfurt and from Mainz, were already established in London in a permanent position

\* Green. Short History of the English People. The West Saxon Realm. A.D. 893–1013.

† Chéruel. Histoire Communale de Rouen, t. I., p. 245.

‡ Heyd. Levanthandel, vol. I., p. 98.

in the reign of Ethelred, their privileges being carefully noted in the laws of this prince.\*

It is a well-known fact that, as soon as a special article of food or material of manufacture became the object of larger importation in England, special duties were immediately imposed on such articles or materials in the hope of deriving greater profit from their increasing consumption. It is, therefore, worthy of notice that wine was one of the very first articles on which a special tax was levied, and this should prove that the wine trade, at the close of the tenth century, had already acquired some importance in England.

During the reign of Ethelred II., import duties on wine were levied at Billingsgate as follows :

“The men of Rouen, who came with wine or a grampus,† gave the right toll of six shillings for a large ship and the twentieth part of the said grampus. The Flemings, and men of Poitou, and Normandy, and France, showed their goods and were free of toll.‡”

There is every reason to believe that what is termed *the right toll of six shillings per large ship of wine* was not a *new* tax, and that it had been established in some previous reign, although there are no records extant showing this to have been the case. That the imports of wine and fish into England were then the two largest branches of the import trade and, as such, the only two which it was found profitable to tax specially, is evidenced by the fact that the duty is only charged on the men of Rouen, who had the monopoly of the French wine trade, whilst the *goods*

\* De Institut. Londonie. 2. Thorpe, vol. I., p. 300.

† From the French *Craspois*, marsouin.

‡ Laws of Æthelred, t. IV., §. 2. Thorpe, vol. I., p. 300. Also

Ancient Laws and Institutions of England, p. 127. Brompton, col. 897

of the *men of Normandy*—either from Rouen or any other town of the duchy—as well as those of Flemings and others, were *free of toll*.

The importance to which the wine trade had risen in England during the tenth century is further demonstrated by the consumption in this country during that period.\*

Owing to the lack of commercial documents, little evidence could have been brought forward in proof of this statement, had it not been for the researches of the learned Rev. Oswald Cockayne, M.A., who has collected and translated a considerable mass of Saxon documents which he published in 1864, in three volumes, entitled : *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*.

In his preface, the editor pertinently remarks that the Saxons have been very unjustly treated by most historians, who have regarded them as “Mangy dogs, whose success against the Keltic race in this country was owing chiefly to their starved condition and ravening hunger.”

The evidence collected in this interesting work shows that the Saxons were far from “roving savages who stuffed their bellies with acorns,” and that their learning, commerce, and arts were those of an intelligent and civilised race ; they had some knowledge of the art of cooking, and they were able to extract a very fair share of comfortable food and healing medicines and savoury drinks directly from the land they lived in and indirectly from abroad.

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\* St. Ethelwold, who introduced the Benedictine rule in England, allowed his monks to have their *claba*—or large jugs filled twice

a day with wine, for their dinner and supper. See *The Wine Drinker's Manual*. London, 1830, p. 214.

As regards wine, the Saxons not only knew what it was, but they knew of several sorts which they distinguished by their qualities as clear,\* strong,† austere,‡ soft,§ sweet,|| etc., rather than by the names of the provinces whence they came.

The Saxons made up also artificial drinks, oxymel,¶ hydromel,\*\* mulled wines,†† and a clear drink or claret, of the nature of those beverages which are now called cups.‡‡

But the chief interest of those old Saxon records, as regards the history of the wine trade in England, lies in the fact that they reveal a most extensive use of wine in those early days, and for a variety of purposes.

As a charm, “a sextarius full of hallowed wine” is used under certain conditions, and witchcraft

\* For the overmickle appetite—to them thou shalt give clean and *dear wine*, and red, much heated; let it not be too sharp. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, etc., Vol. I., p. 197.

† In case of a man spew blood take juice of this wort *proserpinaca*, and boil it without smoke in very good and *strong wine*, etc. *Idem*. Vol. I., p. 113.

‡ For all inwards disorders five sextarii of the *sharpest* wine, mixed, etc. *Idem*. Vol. II., p. 253.

§ For disease of spleen, take the roots of brown wort; pound it to small dust; give it to drink in *lithe (soft) wine*, therewith thou wilt observe a remarkable thing. *Idem*. Vol. I., p. 161.

|| In case (a man's) meat does not well digest . . . it is well that he should spew . . . let him manage that with sweetened wine. *Idem* Vol. II., p. 227.

Sweet wine digests better than the rough. *Idem*. Vol. II., p. 147.

¶ For liver disease, the man must take a not sharp wine; one must also give him some *oxymel*, which

is a drink of the south (Italian ?), wrought of vinegar or of honey. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, etc., Vol. II., p. 213.

\*\*For a fever . . . mix some wort with wine; have it stand three days; take then every day when there may be occasion, a half sextarius; *mix with honey*; then let him drink (this) fasting. *Idem*. Vol. I., p. 137.

††For gout, take this same wort; give to drink in warm wine. *Idem*. Vol. I., p. 123.

‡‡This assumption is based on the following rendering of the Saxon term “a clear drink (claret) made of wine, honey, aromatic herbs, and spices.” “*Accipe ergo hirtzunge (hartstongue) et eam in vino fortiter coque, et tunc purum mel adde, et ita iterum; tunc fac semel fervere, deinde longum piper et bis tantum cynamomi pulverisa, et ita cum prædicto vino fac iterum semel fervere, et per pannum cola et sic fac Luter dranck.*” St. Hildegard, *Phys.* XXX. and also CIII. *Leechdoms*, etc., Vol. II., Preface, p. x.

concocted many extraordinary drinks, wine being the principal component, into which the seers of the period would mix "swines' claws burned and rubbed to dust," or "hartshorn beaten to a dust," or "a hare's brain in wine for oversleeping," or "a hare's heart dried and worked to dust," or "a wood goat's gall mingled with honey of field bees," or "a boar's brain sodden and wrought to a drink in wine," or "a bull's marrow in heated wine," or "the ashes of a hound's tusks in a cup full of hot wine," or even, for the kingly disease, viz., jaundice, "the head of a mad dog pounded and mingled for a drink with wine healeth."\*

Wine, strictly for medicinal purposes, is very often recommended, usually in conjunction with the seeds, the roots, or the leaves of some herbs and plants which were evidently more easy to procure than the head of a mad dog, or a hare's runnet.†

It was recommended in cases of headaches or broken head, bleared eyes and dim sight, toothache, internal disorders, palsy, gout, fevers, stomach-ache, spasms, gravel, if a man had been bitten by a snake, an adder, or scorpion, or had taken poison, and even, contrary to all modern notions, in cases of liver disorders.

Wine, in Saxon days, seems to have possessed the most remarkable medicinal properties, not only when taken as a beverage for all the above diseases and a great many others, but also used as a poultice, which, in the case of a broken head, "draweth out

\* Cockayne, *Leechdoms, etc.*, Vol. I., pp. 335, 343, 349, 359, 369, 371, etc.; Vol. II., p. 235; Vol. III., pp. 11, 23, etc. See Appendix to the present chapter, pp. 37-41.

† See Cockayne, *Leechdoms, etc.*, Vol. I., p. 347.

the broken bones." It was further used externally in cases of earaches, sore hands, bruises, and wounds and sores of all sorts.

The use made of wine, not as a medicine, but as a household beverage, was relatively great, even if we only take the evidence recorded in the work we have just reviewed and which merely concerned itself about leechdoms and recipes. It is, for instance, recommended to a man when he becomes "tired in mickle riding or in mickle goings," that is, if he rides or walks much; a *sharp wine* is also ordered in cases of want of appetite, as we take *bitters* before meals now; and if a man finds that his *wamb* (belly) be hot and dry, he is told to leave alone honey and keep to old wine, and the first and soundest advice given is as follows: "for every evil humour, as much of old wine as to thee may seem good."\*

These mentions of *old* wine are so frequent that cellars must have existed and the cares required to keep wine in good condition must have been familiar to the Saxons.

Many mentions of wine, as used in the household, refer to this beverage as a potent love charm, a remedy against sterility, family discord, indifference to wives, and it is impossible—*pudoris causa*—to transcribe them here; they are certainly not very edifying reading, but they prove beyond a doubt that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, wine could be procured and was consumed in England by a large number of the inhabitants and that its use had long since ceased to be confined to ecclesiastical purposes.

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\* See in the Appendix to the present chapter numerous extracts | from *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of early England*, etc.

It was the duty of the Royal butler to levy the *prisage* at all English ports where foreign wine was imported, and to select the wine which the King had to purchase; this was usually paid for by the Royal bailiffs at the port or fair where the wine selected had been bought; they, in their turn, sent in their claims to the Exchequer, annually, for the sums they had thus advanced to the monarch and, after more or less delay, they were duly reimbursed.

It is thus that, in 1175, the fermor of the town of Southampton was allowed at the Exchequer for payments made in respect of 100 casks of wines bought for the King, and chosen by Alexander of Barentin, the King's Butler, and also for the carriage of the said wines, which were sent to several of the King's houses to wit, Fekeam (Fakenham), Nottingeham (Nottingham), Gattintune (Geddington), Wudestoke (Woodstock), Merleberge (Marlborough), Titegrave, Lutegareschall (Ludgershall, Wilts.), and Clarendon.\*

All the royal officers who were supplied with wine at the monarch's expense received more or less and of different qualities according to the importance and duties of the charge they held.

In a very ancient Memorial concerning the constitution of the King's house, which, by the care of

\* Et pro C modis vini quod Alexander de Barentin elegit ad opus regis, xxxv l. per breve regis —; Et in custamento et cariagio ducendi vinum quod Alexander de Barentin ei dixit ex parte regis quod missum fuit ad Fekeam, et ad Nottingeham, et Gattintune, et Wudestoke, et Merleberge, et Titegrave, et Lutegareschal et Claren-

don, xi l. et xvi s. et iiij d., per breve regis.

Mag. Rot. 22 Hen. II. Rot. 13 b. tit. Hantona. Madox. History of the Exchequer, ch. X., p. 252.

In 1162, £25 2s. were also paid for the King's wine bought at Southampton. *Pipe Roll*. 9 Hen. II., rot. 5. m. 1d.

Alexander de Swereford was registered in the Red Book, we read :

“ The Chancellor has five shillings a day, and so much in simnells, wine, and other small things . . . . The Magister Scriptorii at first ten pence a day, and one seasoned simnel, and half a sextarium of the wine *expensabile* . . . . but K. Henry (II.) raised Robert de Sigillo’s allowance so much, that at the time of that King’s death he had two shillings and one sextarium of the household wine. . . . . The chaplain, who had the care of the Chapel and Relics, to him and to the other under-officers of the chapel, one penny a day and one penny to bring a month . . . . et one gallon of clear wine for the mass and one sextarius of wine *expensabile* on Absolution day to wash the altar with. On Easter day, for the Communion, one sextarius of clear wine and one of *expensabile*.\*

Besides the King and his many dependents, all the great Norman barons and all the rich landowners drank wine, which they procured either at London, York, Exeter, Bristol or Chester or any other port that might be within easy reach of their habitations, or at any of the great fairs which were held at regular intervals throughout the land, the most renowned being that at Boston.

The origin of fairs is very remote : when monasteries began to be built on the sites where martyrs had suffered death or where the early missionaries lay buried, the commemoration of the saint became

\* *Lib. Rub. fol. notato XXX. a. col. 2. Madox. History of the Exchequer*, p. 132.

Alexander de Swereford, Recorder of Swereford, in Oxon, in King

John’s reign, called to the Exchequer by Henry III., died 14th November, 1246. Madox. *Antiquus Dialogus de Scaccario. Dissertatio Epistolaris*, V.



To supply the demand for wine, which had already become considerable before the Norman Conquest, a large number of men were employed in importing this commodity into England and in retailing it, and it is absolutely certain that both the wholesale and retail wine trade were established in this country before the middle of the eleventh century. Edward the Confessor, in spite of his goodwill for the men of Rouen, to whom he granted many privileges, whilst protesting to be anxious to facilitate their trade in wines with this country, decreed that foreigners could only sell their wines wholesale in England, and that they were not to cause any prejudice to the native Englishmen by taking up the retail trade or engaging in any work which the citizens were wont to do.\*

To close the story of the wine trade in England previous to the Norman Conquest, one more instance of the importance it had acquired during the eleventh century may be given here.

In Archbishop Alfric's Colloquium, written before 1051, a dialogue is supposed to be taking place between the teacher and a number of men engaged in work of different kinds, each of these representing one of the principal professions and forms of employment. After the ploughman, the king's hunter, the fisherman, etc., there is a hawker, as well as a merchant, who boasts that he is of service to the king and the alderman and the wealthy, and all the people, for he goes in his ship and buys wine and precious things which are not native to England, and brings them across, despite the perils of the deep

\* Laws of Edward the Confessor. *Libertas Civitatum*, Thorpe, Vol. I., p. 464. This was the first of a series of similar restrictive measures which were enforced throughout the Middle Ages.

and the risks of shipwreck. And when he has brought them, he tries to sell them for more here than he paid there, so that he might have some gain and support his wife and son.\*

That the importer of wine should have thus been selected by the worthy archbishop as the type and model of the *merchant*, certainly tends to show that his profession was, even as far back as the eleventh century, an important as well as a lucrative and respected one.

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## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

EXTRACTS FROM LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING AND STARCRAFT OF  
EARLY ENGLAND, BEING A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS  
FOR THE MOST PART NEVER BEFORE PRINTED, ILLUSTRATING  
THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE  
THE NORMAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED AND EDITED BY  
THE REV. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A.

For toothache take some wort betony and boil it down in old wine or in vinegar to the third part; it will wonderfully heal the soreness of the teeth and the swelling. For sore of side, take of the same wort by weight of three drachms, seethe in old wine, and rub down, etc. (Vol. I., p. 73.)

If a man be inwardly broken, or to him his body be sore, let him take then of betony the wort by weight four drachms; boil it in wine much, etc. (Vol. I., p. 77.)

If a man become tired in mickle riding or in mickle goings, let him take then of betony the wort one full drachm; seethe it in sweetened wine; let him then drink at night fasting, three cups full; then will he be soon unweary. (Vol. I., p. 77.)

For sore of inwards, or if he (the sick man) be swollen, take betony the wort; rub in wine very small; let him lay it then about the wamb (belly), and let him swallow it; then also rathe (soon) it cometh to boot (amends). (Vol. I., pp. 78, 79.)

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\* Thorpe. *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, p. 101.

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If then any man swallow poison, let him then take of the same wort three drachms by weight, and four cups full of wine ; let him boil them together and drink, then he will spew up the poison. (Vol. I., p. 79 ; also p. 115, p. 123, p. 151, p. 167.)

Again for bite of adder, take of this same wort one drachm by weight ; rub it into red wine ; contrive then that there be of the wine three cups full ; smear then the wound with the wort and with the wine. (Vol. I., p. 79 ; also p. 83, p. 89, p. 93, p. 111, p. 123, p. 345.)

If thou then wilt reduce the size of a man's wamb (belly), then take thou the wort ; boil in vinegar ; put then the juice and the wort so boiled into wine ; let him drink then at night, fasting, always one cup for a discharge. (Vol. I., p. 83.)

If a man's blood runs out of his nostrils too much, give to him to drink fiveleaf in wine, and smear the head with it, etc. If a man's midriff ache, let him take juice of fiveleaf, mix it with wine, and let him drink then three cups full, and at night fasting. (Vol. I., p. 89.)

For sore of liver, take on Midsummer's Day the same wort, and rub it to dust ; take then five spoons full of the dust, and three draughts of good wine ; mix together, give to drink ; it will benefit much ; also in like manner for many other infirmities. (Vol. I., p. 91.)

For the infirmity by which stones wax in the bladder, take roots of the same wort and pound them ; boil then in hot wine ; give to drink, etc. (Vol. I., p. 91 ; also p. 213.)

For sore of teeth, take roots of the same wort ; seethe them in strong wine ; let (the sufferer) sip it so warm and hold it in his mouth, soon it will heal the sore of teeth. (Vol. I., p. 95 ; also p. 371.)

In case of a man spew blood, take juice of this wort *proserpinæa*, and boil it without smoke in very good and strong wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 113.)

For sore of hands, take this same wort *Apollinaris*, pound it with old lard without salt, add thereto a cup of old wine, and let that be heated without smoke. (Vol. I., p. 121.)

If one be bruised, take this wort *chamædrys*, pound it in a *treen fat* (wooden vessel) ; give to drink in wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 123.)

For gout, take this same wort ; give to drink in warm wine , etc. (Vol. I., p. 123.)

For water sickness, take this same wort and raven's foot and heart clover and ground pine, of all these worth equally much by weight, pound them to small dust ; give them to swallow in wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 123.)

Again for sore of mouth (yawning ?) take the wort *britannica* and pound it with wine to the thickness of honey. (Vol. I., p. 127.)

For sore of side (palsy), take the same wort so green with its roots ; pound it ; give it to drink in wine, two draughts or three, etc. (Vol. I., p. 129.)

Again for dimness of eyes, take juice of the wort *lactuca silvatica*, mixed with old wine and with honey, and let this be collected without smoke, etc. (Vol. I., p. 129 ; also p. 201, 231, 233, 271, 347, 349.)

Against bite of snake, take this same wort, by weight of two drachms, and two draughts of wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 131 : also pp. 135, 167, 175, 197, 209, 211, 231 )

For sore of spleen, take this same wort, give to swallow in wine ; it removes the sore of the spleen. (Vol. I., p. 131 ; also pp. 161, 191, 215.)

For liver disease, take the wort which the Greeks name *centaura maior*, and the Engle *churmell the greater*, and which also some men call *earth gall* ; seethe it in wine ; give to drink, etc. (Vol. I., p. 135 ; also Vol. II., pp. 207, 213, 215.)

If one fall into this mischief (fever), take a good handful of this same wort, seethe it in wine or in ale, so that of the wine there is an ambur (jug) full ; have it stand three days ; take then every day when there may be occasion, a half sextarius, etc. (Vol. I., p. 137.)

For a broken head, take the upper part of this wort, dry it and ground it ; take then by weight as much of wine ; mingle to rether ; lay to the sore ; it then draweth out the broken bones. (Vol. I., p. 151.)

For sore of inwards, take leaves of this wort . . . pound them and nine peppercorns and nine grains of coriander seeds all together ; give to drink in good wine, and let this be when he goes to the bath. Also this wort is efficacious to make either men's or women's hair grow. (Vol. I., p. 157 ; also p. 197, 225.)

#### 40 HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

For sore of bladder, and in case that a man may not pass water, take the outer part of the root of this wort. . . . dry it then and pound it and mix thereto two draughts of wine and three of water; give this to drink. (Vol. I., p. 183.)

For spasms of the sinews and swelling of the feet; take this wort which is called sabine, administer it with honey or wine. (Vol. I., p. 191.)

If a man's veins be hardened, or his meat will not digest, take juice of this same wort, then mingle wine and water and honey and the juice of all together, then give it him warm to drink, etc. (Vol. I., p. 197.)

For headache, take this same wort, give it to drink in wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 201.)

For sore of ears, take ooze of this wort . . . . mix it with strong wine and apply it to the ear, etc. (Vol. I., p. 201; also p. 215, p. 351.)

For swelling or aching of the shanks, take seed of this ilk wort, give it to drink in wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 279.)

For stirring the mie (urine) take this wort skordion so green, pounded and taken in wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 293; also p. 305.)

Against sore of head, drink by weight of five pennies of ashes of hart's horn; take one sextarius of wine and two of water; take of this every day a cupfull, and drink this drink. It also restraineth sore of wamb. (Vol. I., p. 335.)

For oversleeping, a hare's brains in wine given for a drink, wonderfully it amendeth. (Vol. I., p. 343.)

For the men that suffer gaduiness, a hare's lung and the liver mingled together, and myrrh by weight of four pennies and three of beer, and one of honey; this shall be boiled in good vinegar, and subsequently infused with sweetened wine, and after that let them drink; soon it healeth. (Vol. I., p. 345.)

For every sore, a boar's brain sodden and wrought to a drink in wine alleviateth all the sore. (Vol. I., p. 359.)

For flux of inwards, work to a drink in wine a new liver of boar and let (the patient) drink; it will soon be well with him. (Vol. I., p. 359.)

For a erysipelatous inflammation let (the patient) drink frequently a boar's sharn and sulphur rubbed down into wine, etc. (Vol. I., p. 361.)

For bad spasm let (one) drink in wine a bull's marrow in heated wine; that amendeth. (Vol. I., p. 369.)

For the overmickle appetite, to them thou shalt give clean and clear wine, and red, much heated; let it not be too sharp. (Vol. II., p. 197.)

When a man has fainted from hunger, pull his locks from him, and wring his ears, and twitch his whiskers; when he is better, give him soon some bread broken in wine. (Vol. II., p. 197.)

For broken or sore inwards, four bowls full of the best wine so hot that the finger may bear, etc. (Vol. II., p. 237.)

For all inwards disorders five sextaris of the sharpest wine mixed with, etc. (Vol. II., p. 253.)

An eye salve: put into a horn wine and pepper, and into the eyes when you wish to go to bed. (Vol. III., p. 3.)

### CHAPTER III.

THE importance of the Norman Conquest and its influence on the commercial life of England cannot be exaggerated; it brought this country into closer contact with all that was best in Christendom at that time; it introduced a new spirit of adventure and activity; it established a firmer rule all over the kingdom, and enforced a stricter obedience to the laws of the land.

The spirit of adventure was one of the chief characteristics of the Norman invaders, who had not only conquered Neustria, but found their way to the Mediterranean and to Sicily, and who were soon to be foremost amongst the Crusaders. Their enterprising spirit gave an entirely new activity to the commerce of England and was of paramount importance for the development of its foreign trade. To use a very strong and original simile, England, during the reigns of the Norman kings, "was as it were violently caught up by the irresistible Norman torrent and swept out of its backwater into the main stream of continental civilization."\*

Whilst the foreign trade was receiving a great impetus from the constant intercommunication which political relations rendered necessary, the internal trade of the country benefited to a large extent from

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\* Mary Bateson. *Mediæval England*, A.D. 1066-1350.

the increased facilities of supply and the better order which prevailed throughout the realm.

The Conqueror was a stern man, "so that none durst do anything against his will," and the good order that he succeeded in establishing in the land "was such that any man who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."\*

This greater security induced many foreign merchants to come to England with their goods, and a chronicler mentions specially the merchants of Rouen who followed in the wake of the Conqueror and preferred to dwell in London, "inasmuch as it was fitter for their trading and better stored with the merchandise in which they were wont to traffic."†

As early as A.D. 1070, a few years only after the Conquest, Orderic Vidal remarked that the English markets were full of French traders and French wares.‡

The personal influence of the king on the social and commercial life of the nation was in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times far more important than that arising from any other quarter. It would be impossible to understand the growth of the wine trade in England during the early Middle Ages, or to follow the legislation of which it was the object, without taking into consideration the rôle and potent influence of the Norman kings.

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, quoted by J. Gairdner, *Early Chronicles of Europe*.

† Anonymous Life, in *Materials for the History of St. Thomas a*

Becket (Rolls Series), IV. Quoted by Green. *Short History*, p. 88.

‡ Lib. VI. ap. Norm. Script., p. 520, in *Fréville, Commerce Maritime de Rouen*, T. I., p. 99.



Security for person and property, intercourse with other nations and commercial advance were directly connected with the personal character of the monarch ; the life of the people was most deeply affected in every way by the strength or weakness of his disposition.

The Royal authority was, in short, the keystone of the whole social fabric ; the condition of industry and commerce was directly affected by the Royal decision, and the initiative in progress, when progress was made, lay far less with individual traders than with the king himself.

The extraordinary influence which the personal character of the king exercised on the whole condition of society, is very clearly illustrated by the story of the reigns of the Conqueror's two sons.

Rufus made the most of every occasion for extortion which the ingenuity of Ranulf Flambard was able to devise, and robbed his subjects mercilessly ; he frightened traders and left the country much poorer at his death than he had found it at his accession.

Not so Henry I. ; his reign was that of a wise administrator and his exactions were far more productive without being in the least so oppressive or arbitrary. The king understood that the wealth of his people was the surest guarantee of replenishing his Exchequer, in time of need, and his efforts to maintain security for life and property, rendered the conditions for industry and commerce more favourable than had been known for many preceding years ; trade, under his wise rule, began to thrive, and the increased prosperity of his people repaid the king for his moderation. But at his death, and during the reign of Stephen, the terrible anarchy which prevailed

within the land was more disastrous to trade than to any other part of the social life of the kingdom. The king's peace was nowhere enforced or respected, merchants were slain and their goods seized, and the Channel swarmed with pirates bent on plunder, who very soon frightened away all merchants from France, Flanders or Italy.

Trade did not only suffer from or benefit by the home and foreign policy of the Norman kings; it was also directly affected by their administrative regulations and laws, some of which were productive of much good, whilst others formed a serious impediment to the speedy growth of commerce. The King's council was chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, who were the only members of society able to draft laws. Most of these were framed in the spirit of the ancient ecclesiastical canons, which had never been promulgated with a view to commercial prosperity, and which only aimed at the suppressing of the *greed of gain*. This appeared to the Fathers of the Church as most ungodly, and there had been, in earlier times, sweeping condemnations, including almost every kind of trading and practically prohibiting the purchase and sale of wine for profit:

"Whoever at the time of the harvest and of the vintage, not through necessity but by cupidity, buys corn or wine, agreeing to pay twopence per gallon, and lends himself to sell it as much as fourpence, or six, or more, this we call shameful indeed."\*

\* Quicumque tempore messis vel vindemiæ, non necessitate, sed propter cupiditatem comparet annonam vel vinum, verbi gratia de duobus denariis comparet modium unum, et servat, usque dam vendatur denariis quatuor, aut sex,

aut amplius, hoc turpe merum dicimus." Codex Juris Canonici, c. 9. C. 14. q. 4; see also c. i., C. 14, q. 3; and c. 3, C. 14. q. 3. Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce, p. 251.

It was with this eminently laudable object of checking any such "shameful" profit-taking and to protect citizens against the exactions of traders, that there was framed the mediæval doctrine of a just price which was intended to control the conduct and morals of individuals.

There is no doubt that the whole conception of a just price is purely Christian and found its clearest and best exponent in the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, who assumed that everything has a just price, this being the amount of money for which, according to public opinion and under ordinary circumstances, it is right that the owner of the ware should exchange it.

To determine the *just price* of every commodity according to this vague formula was obviously impossible; but ecclesiastical and municipal officials at first, and the sovereign later, were induced to fix a legal price which should represent the *just price* as nearly as possible.

England growing then all the corn required for home consumption, it was possible to fix the price of bread from year to year according to the greater abundance or scarcity of the crop, but, as regards wine, the task was far more difficult, and whenever attempted always proved unsuccessful and impracticable. The initial difficulty was, of course, to distinguish between the wines of different countries, in each of which economical conditions differed; the vintage might have been abundant at Bordeaux and wine cheap there, whilst, in the same year, the Rhine or Auxerre districts might have been less favoured. An attempt was made to fix the price of wine according to the greater or smaller abundance

of the vintage, and it was ordered that "such as bring wines from the King's dominions, do bring testimonial, under chief officers' hand, of the price of the same, so as the justice of the peace, at their arrival, may set the assize of the same ;"\* but this proved altogether impracticable, and the lawful price of wine in England was fixed according to official discretion, and usually at so low a figure as to be very little remunerative to the importers.

In spite of all such arbitrary legislation, the wine trade in England had become much more important under the Norman Kings than it had ever been before. Documentary evidence of the period is, unfortunately, excessively scarce, particularly so for matters pertaining to trade, of which no records were kept by the Royal clerks. There are, however, indirect proofs of the abundance of wine in England in Norman times : such, for instance, as the fact that even during the troubled reign of Stephen, the Norman lords had sufficient supplies of wine in England to enable the King to fine one of them, Matthew de Venum, in 100 casks of wine for a breach of the peace.†

There is also an order of his predecessor, Henry I., who, in 1130, instructed Milo de Gloucester, sheriff of Shropshire, to send a quantity of wine to Worcester and Bridgnorth.‡

The Norman kings and the Norman lords who shared the spoils of victory and settled in England were all large wine consumers ; the crowd of retainers,

\* An exact abridgement of the Records in the Tower of London, etc., collected by Sir Robert Cotton. London, 1657, pp. 97-98., temp. 37 Edward III.

† Mathæus de Venum debet c modios vini pro concordia duelli

fratris sui. Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 1. a., in Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 325.

‡ Rot. Pip. 31 Hen. I., p. 77 ; in Rev. R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, Vol. I., p. 247.

knights and officers who formed their court in time of peace and their bodyguard in time of war, were supplied with food and drink, at their lord's expense, and most of them had a daily allowance of wine.

The King's household was the most numerous, and the many officers, stallers, marshals, chaplains, chamberlains and attendants of all sorts who composed it, lived at Court *en pension*, the solid part of the board being provided at the King's table, whilst they received a regular supply of bread, wine, and candles for private consumption, as well as wages and clothing. This was called the "livery," the recipients of which included the high Court officials at London and Winchester down to the watch, the porter and the servants of St. Briavel's Castle, in Gloucestershire.

A minute account of Henry I.'s household expenses is preserved in the only Exchequer record of his reign that has come down to us. Although this account represents the expenditure of the reformed royal household, when Henry I. found it necessary to reduce the many abuses and excessive liveries of Rufus' reign, the number and variety of recipients of the livery are still very extensive, including the *wife of the naperer* and several similar persons whose claim to the King's bounty seems very slight.

The servants and officers of the royal palaces and residences throughout the land were not the only ones supplied with wine by the monarch. All the royal castles on the coast of England, on the marches of Wales or on the Scottish Border, received wine from the King for the use of the lord in command and of his men. This supply was even so plentiful that it is recorded that during the siege of Exeter.

the water supply having failed, wine had to be used to make bread and to put out fire brands.\*

The numerous claims on the Royal Exchequer would never have permitted the sovereign to buy the enormous quantities of wine he stood in need of; most of this was obtained from the "prisage" or "recta prisa," which consisted in the King's right to take from each cargo of wine arriving in England, one cask on each side of the mast, unfranked. If this were not sufficient to furnish the required quantity of wine, part of the cargo was purchased in the King's name, at about half the usual price; if more than this were wanted, and it happened by no means unfrequently, the ship with all its cargo was chartered by the Crown and navigated forthwith to the port nearest to the ultimate destination of the wine. It seems, however, to have been usual to subject none but foreign vessels to this arbitrary measure.

This prisage had originated in the free gift by foreign merchant vintners to the King of some of their wine for the privilege of being allowed to trade in the land, until it came to be recognised as a *custom* or *Royal due*, whilst the right of the sovereign to buy at his own price the necessities of life, bread and wine, required by his household and his army, was also submitted to as a national royal prerogative.

*Ad opus regis et suorum* was a formula which opened every warehouse and every cellar, the King's claims being always paramount.†

\* Mary Bateson. *Mediæval England*, p. 34.

† "The King had, in Anglo-Saxon times, we may believe, the prerogative of prisage or purveyance—the admitted right to purchase, for his own use, stores or material at an official discretion

with regard to quantity and price. He represented the glory of the nation, and his equipage, appointments, and hospitality must be such as magnify the post." H. Hall. *The Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*, p. 191.

It was the duty of the Royal butler to levy the *prisage* at all English ports where foreign wine was imported, and to select the wine which the King had to purchase; this was usually paid for by the Royal bailiffs at the port or fair where the wine selected had been bought; they, in their turn, sent in their claims to the Exchequer, annually, for the sums they had thus advanced to the monarch and, after more or less delay, they were duly reimbursed.

It is thus that, in 1175, the fermor of the town of Southampton was allowed at the Exchequer for payments made in respect of 100 casks of wines bought for the King, and chosen by Alexander of Barentin, the King's Butler, and also for the carriage of the said wines, which were sent to several of the King's houses to wit, Fekeam (Fakenham), Notingham (Nottingham), Gattintune (Geddington), Wudestoke (Woodstock), Merleberge (Marlborough), Titegrave, Lutegareschall (Ludgershall, Wilts.), and Clarendon.\*

All the royal officers who were supplied with wine at the monarch's expense received more or less and of different qualities according to the importance and duties of the charge they held.

In a very ancient Memorial concerning the constitution of the King's house, which, by the care of

\* Et pro C modiis vini quod Alexander de Barentin elegit ad opus regis, xxxv l. per breve regis —; Et in custamento et cariagio ducendi vinum quod Alexander de Barentin ei dixit ex parte regis quod missum fuit ad Fekeam, et ad Notingham, et Gattintune, et Wudestoke, et Merleberge, et Titegrave, et Lutegareschal et Claren-

don, xi l. et xvi s. et iiij d., per breve regis.

Mag. Rot. 22 Hen. II. Rot. 13 b. tit. Hantona. Madox. History of the Exchequer, ch. X., p. 252.

In 1162, £25 2s. were also paid for the King's wine bought at Southampton. *Pipe Roll*. 9 Hen. II., rot. 5. m. 1d.

Alexander de Swereford was registered in the Red Book, we read :

“ The Chancellor has five shillings a day, and so much in simnells, wine, and other small things . . . . The Magister Scriptorii at first ten pence a day, and one seasoned simnel, and half a sextarium of the wine *expensabile* . . . . but K. Henry (II.) raised Robert de Sigillo’s allowance so much, that at the time of that King’s death he had two shillings and one sextarium of the household wine. . . . . The chaplain, who had the care of the Chapel and Relics, to him and to the other under-officers of the chapel, one penny a day and one penny to bring a month . . . . et one gallon of clear wine for the mass and one sextarius of wine *expensabile* on Absolution day to wash the altar with. On Easter day, for the Communion, one sextarius of clear wine and one of *expensabile*.\*

Besides the King and his many dependents, all the great Norman barons and all the rich landowners drank wine, which they procured either at London, York, Exeter, Bristol or Chester or any other port that might be within easy reach of their habitations, or at any of the great fairs which were held at regular intervals throughout the land, the most renowned being that at Boston.

The origin of fairs is very remote : when monasteries began to be built on the sites where martyrs had suffered death or where the early missionaries lay buried, the commemoration of the saint became

\* *Lib. Rub. fol. notato XXX. a. col. 2. Madox. History of the Exchequer*, p. 132.

Alexander de Swereford, Recorder of Swereford, in Oxon, in King

John’s reign, called to the Exchequer by Henry III., died 14th November, 1246. Madox. *Antiquus Dialogus de Scaccario*. *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, V.



the occasion of gatherings, to which men of surrounding districts flocked in great numbers. These gatherings taking place at fixed dates, pilgrims going to the same shrine would all go together, the dangers of the road being thus greatly diminished, whilst a unique opportunity was afforded to many people for meeting one another and for making satisfactory exchanges. The most famous shrines, being visited by a large concourse of people, were places where trade could be pursued to the greatest advantage, and fairs were soon established which were to take place every year, and sometimes several times a year, at fixed dates and during a definite number of days. All those taking advantage of these fairs and markets had to pay certain taxes to the king, the Church, and sometimes the municipal authorities or the lord of the place.

By far the greater part of the internal commerce of the country was at first carried on at such fairs, as they afforded the only opportunity which the inhabitants of inland districts possessed of purchasing pepper, wine, and other articles imported into England.

During the reigns of the Norman Kings, however, the ports and cities of the realm had grown to a far greater commercial importance; some of them had already obtained charters and bought privileges assuring their freedom of trading all the year, and not, as during the fairs, for a limited period only.

London was then, as it has been ever since, by far the greatest emporium of the realm, where, according to a very ancient anonymous writer, cited by FitzStephen in his description of London, the Arabs sent their gold, the Scythes arms, Egypt

precious stones, Norway and Russia furs, the French their wines, etc.\*

According to Stow, the same FitzStephen had seen the Thames, at London, bordered with cellars and with boats full of wine.† The wine trade was also acquiring new outlets in Wales, and Giraldus Cambrensis, one of Henry II.'s chaplains and principal agents in his pacification of the Welsh, wrote that, during the reign of this Prince, wine was abundant and cheap in Pembroke.‡

William of Malmesbury also describes London as a city rich in wealthy citizens, and full of merchants coming from every land and especially from Germany for commerce. § The same author remarks that German ships came to York by the river Huse. ||

Some of these formed probably part of the wine fleet which came over to England every year with the new wines made on the banks of the Moselle.

"The moment this fleet of adventurous hulks and keels had escaped the perils of the German Ocean, and had reached the New Weir, in the Thames,

\* Aurum mittit Arabs; species et thura Sabæus.

Arma Scythes; oleum palmarum divite silva.

Pingue solum Babylon; Nilus lapides pretiosos.

Seres purpureas vestes; Galli sua vina.

Norwego, Rusci, varium, griseum sabelinas." Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis. Liber Customarum, Vol. I., p. 9.

† Stow. A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, etc.; edited by John Strype. London. 1720. In folio, Vol. II. Appendix I. Ch. II., p. 10., col. 1.

‡ Giraldus Cambrensis Itinerarium Cambriæ. Lib. II., cap. XII.

§ Willelmi Malmesbiriensis,

Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum. Edited from the autograph MS. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton. London, 1870. Lib. II., p. 140.

London. — Opima civium divitiis, constipata negotiatorum ex omni terra et maxime ex Germania venientium commertiis. Unde fit, ut cum ubique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili proventu messium sit, ibi necessaria distrahantur et emanant minore quam alibi vel vendentium compendio vel ementium dispendio.

|| Idem. Prol. Lib. III., p. 208. York.—A duabus partibus Huse fluminis edificata includit medio sinu sui naves a Germania et Hibernia venientes.

the eastern limit of the City's jurisdiction, it was their duty, in conformity with the fiscal and civic regulations, to arrange themselves in due order and raise their ensigns, the crews being at liberty, if so inclined, to sing their *kiriele*, or song of praise and thanksgiving, according to the old law, until London Bridge was reached. Arrived here, and the drawbridge duly raised, they were for a certain time to lie moored off the wharf, probably Queen-Hythe, the most important in those times of all the *hythes* or landing places, to the west of London Bridge. Here they were to remain at their moorings two ebbs and a flood, during which period they were to sell no part of their cargo, it being the duty of one of the sheriffs and the King's chamberlain to board each vessel in the meantime, and to select for the royal use such articles as they might think proper; the price thereof being duly assessed by lawful merchants of London, and credit given until a fortnight's end. The two ebbs and a flood expired, the wine-ship was allowed to lie alongside the wharf, and the tuns of wine to be disposed of, under certain regulations, to such merchants as might present themselves as customers. The first night after his arrival in the City, no Lorrainer was allowed to go to market or to a fair, for any purposes of traffic, beyond four specified points, which seem to have been Stratford-le-Bow, Stamford Hill, Knightsbridge, and Blackheath. A premium was offered to such of the Lorrainers as forbore to land at all, or to pass the limits of the wharf, in the shape of a reduction on the duties on their wines.\*

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\* H. R. Fox Bourne.—*English Merchants*. London. 1866. Vol. I., pp. 12, 13.

Many wine-ships, instead of going up to London, stopped at Sandwich, which, under the kings of the Danish dynasty, had become one of the busiest ports on the Eastern coasts of England.\* On the western coast, the greatest commercial port in Norman times was Bristol, which was described by a contemporary, the author of the *Gesta Stephani*, as "the most opulent city in all those parts, as its shipping brings merchandise to and from the neighbouring coasts and from foreign parts." Next in importance, and growing rapidly, came the ports of Southampton and Chester.

As the price of wine will often be mentioned hereafter, it will not be found out of place to state here briefly what was the currency of the period.

The only coined money, as far as is certainly known, was the silver penny, which, as at present, was the twelfth part of a shilling; the shilling being also, as it has ever since been, the twentieth part of a pound. Both the pound and the shilling, however, were only money of account; there were no coins of these denominations; the pound was still a full pound of silver, according to the ancient Saxon or German standard of  $11\frac{1}{4}$  ounces troy, that is, the same amount which is now coined into £2 16s. 3d. sterling. The shilling, consequently, being the twentieth part of this, was equivalent to 2s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. of the present money; and the penny, being the twelfth part of the shilling, contained an amount of silver equal to a trifle more than what might be purchased by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. of modern money.

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\* When Canute came back from Rome, and wished to make a rich donation to the Church, to show his gratitude to Heaven for his safe return, he granted to the Canter-

bury monks the fees and customs arising from the harbour of Sandwich. (Thorpe. Dip. Ang. 317.)

See also Ed. Ingram. Saxon Chronicle, p. 206.

The *mark*, which was also a money of account, appears to have been a Danish denomination of money, and to have been introduced into this country by the Danish settlers, the first mention of it being found in the articles of agreement between Alfred and Guthrun. The legal value of the mark was two-thirds of a pound, or 3,600 grains troy of silver, being equivalent to £1 17s. 9d. The relative value of the different denominations of money was, therefore, as follows :—

The *Penny*, the only silver coin, weighing  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy, equivalent in sterling money to about  $2\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The *Shilling*, money of account, of the value of twelve pence, equivalent to about 2s.  $9\frac{1}{4}$ d. in sterling money.

The *Mark*, money of account, of the value of 13s. 4d., equivalent to about £1 17s. 9d. in sterling money.

The *Pound*, money of account, of the value of 20s., equivalent to about £2 16s. 3d. in sterling money.

It must also be borne in mind that, money being comparatively scarce, the prices of most commodities were naturally much lower than they are now—that is to say, they might be purchased for a much smaller amount of money. A goat, for instance, cost on an average twopence, or fivepence-halfpenny of our money, but these two pence were as difficult to earn as five shillings would be to-day, so that the fivepence-halfpenny, although they represent the actual sterling value of the silver contained in the mediæval two pence, do not represent their equivalent modern price or value. There is no uniform proportion

between the prices of that period and those of the present day, some things being nominally dearer than they now are, as well as many others nominally cheaper. No correct estimate can, therefore, be formed of the relative value between the money in those times and that of the present day, for the calculation that might be true of some articles would not be right for others.

As regards wine, we are inclined to think that the approximate present day value of prices charged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be put down as five times as great, on an average, so that the value of the gallon of wine costing sixpence during the reign of King John may be put down as two shillings and sixpence of our money.

## CHAPTER IV.

WHEN Henry II. ascended the throne, he found the internal and foreign trade of England practically ruined by the civil wars and the misrule of his predecessor, and it is certainly one of the most remarkable feats accomplished by this prince that, at his death, the commerce of the nation was both more extensive and more productive than it had ever been before.

At home, Henry ruined the authority of the great feudal barons, while he granted to many towns charters which ensured their commercial independence. The spread of the wine trade in England was very rapid during this reign : wine was sent, in 1157 and 1158, from Southampton to Winchester, for the use of the King,\* and, in the Pipe Roll for the year 1175 alone, there are mentions of vintners at Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Cirencester, etc., who were fined for selling wine against the assize, *i.e.*, at a higher price than that fixed by authority of the sovereign.†

Abroad, the English monarch's continental possessions were more considerable than at any other time in this country's history. Henry was at the same time master, in the right of his father, of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine ; in that of his mother, of Normandy ; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poitou,

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\* Milner, General History of Hampshire, vol. II., p. 170. | † Pipe Roll 22 Hen. II., rot. 4 m. 2, and m. 2d., rot. 9 m. 1 ; rot. 12 ; m. 2d.

Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and Limousin; these provinces, which were amongst the most opulent of the French monarchy, were nearly all wine-producing and owed their wealth entirely to agriculture and commerce. The surest way for the Plantagenets to retain under their allegiance the subjects of those distant provinces was to attach them to their dynasty by bonds of interest, assuring them of a ready market, in England, for the sale of their wines, and granting them special trading privileges which might be termed, in modern phraseology, preferential tariffs. The result of this policy may be easily detected in the remarkable faithfulness of Bordeaux to the English Crown during the three following centuries, and the rapid decay of the Metropolis of Aquitaine after it was lost to England. Although Rouen was reunited to the French monarchy long before Bordeaux, the loyalty of its inhabitants to their English lord was very staunch; they offered a long and gallant resistance to his enemy, and became French very much against their will.

A short sketch of the trade of both Rouen and Bordeaux, during the early Middle Ages, will throw much light on the wine trade in England during that period, since most of the wine consumed at the time in this country came from either of those two ports.

The ancient ecclesiastical and commercial relations between Rouen and England have already been referred to at some length, and their sudden development and greater importance immediately after the Conquest have also been indicated elsewhere.

During the reign of Henry II., the wine trade of Rouen had become very considerable. Wine was



then made in Normandy to a great extent, even as far as Avranches, where the King and the Abbey of the Mont St. Michel owned vineyards,\* as also in the diocese of Lisieux,† and in the very suburbs of Rouen.‡

From Paris to Rouen, the gentle slopes which form the Seine valley were then covered with vines, and much wine was made which it was both easy and economical to ship to England, via Rouen. The wines of Normandy and of the Seine valley were, however, very inferior compared to the produce of the Burgundy vineyards, which followed the same route and were sent to London by way of the Seine, via Paris and Rouen.

The Burgundy merchants used to bring their wines themselves as far as Rouen, § where they sold them to traders of that city, who alone had the right to navigate the lower Seine from Rouen to the Channel.

Besides the different tolls which had been charged on the way there, merchants had to pay heavy dues and customs at Rouen; the first and most obnoxious of these was the King's Recta Prisa levied by the English monarchs as Dukes of Normandy, as appears in the charter of Henry II., *circa* A.D. 1150, shortly before his accession to the English throne, to the

\* There was a winepress at the Mont St. Michel Abbey in 1121. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland*, t. I. p. 261. A gift of a vineyard near Avranches was made by Henry II. in 1157. *Idem.* t. I. p. 299. The Mont St. Michel Abbey owned vineyards in the adjacent districts in 1184. *Idem.* t. I., p. 277.

† Vineyards were given to the Abbey of St. Peter, Préaux, in the diocese of Lisieux, in 1169; *Idem.* t. I., p. 117.

‡ Vineyards were given to the Abbey of Holy Trinity, Rouen, *circa*, A.D. 1067, and others are mentioned in the suburbs of Rouen in 1060. *Idem.* t. I., pp. 23-24.

§ *Ordonnances.* t. XI., p. 290. A.D. 1204, and p. 137. Philippe Auguste allowed the wines of Berry, Burgundy, and France to be sent to Rouen by way of the Seine. See *Fréville. Histoire du Commerce maritime de Rouen*, t. I. pp. 199-204.

metropolis of his Duchy : “ De vino alicujus civium Rothomagi, quod ad servitium Ducis capietur, quartus denarius non cadat.”\*

Another duty, which was called “pontage,” was levied at the bridge of Rouen on all wines passing through the city.

In a charter granted by Duke Richard of Normandy to the Abbey of St. Wandrille, in 1024, the barges of the monks are granted a free passage up and down the Seine, free of all custom, of *pontage and traverse*.† In the twelfth century another tax was imposed on the wine trade of Rouen, which was called “*moéson des vins*” or *modiatio*, a duty based on the Latin word *modius* (*Fr. muid*) a cask containing 288 pints.

This duty, which was levied during the reign of Henry II. but may have been originated long before, was also paid on wines passing at the bridge of Rouen, and it is called, in an Exchequer deed of A.D. 1277, the *modiation of the bridge of Rouen*.‡

It is also mentioned, together with the other tolls

\* *Chéruel. Histoire communale de Rouen*, t. I., p. 244. *Fréville, Histoire du commerce mar. de R.*, t. I., p. 118. Cives Rothomagi, ubicumque venerint in terram rostram cum mercaturis suis, quecumque sint, eas pacifice et quiete vendant ad detallagium vel alio modo . . . . Salvā nostrā prisā vinorum suorum, quam habemus apud Londonias, ad opus nostrum, ad bibendum et donandum, ubi nos placuerit, et non ad vendendum, scilicet de unaquaque navigata vini duo dolia . . . . ad electionem nostram et ad advenantum. Quum alia vina illius navis vendita fuerint, pretium illorum vinorum que habebimus intra quindecim dies integre reddatur. Et volumus quod prisā illa fiat

intra octo dies, postquam illi qui vina illa adducent scire faciant ballivo nostro, qui prisam nostram faciet apud Londonias; et nisi intra istum terminum ita fiat, ex tunc predicti cives de ei faciant quod voluerint, absque licentia ab aliquo capienda. *Charter of the year 1200. Chéruel. Histoire communale de Rouen*, t. I., pp. 252-3.

† Concedo . . . . transitum liberum, ab omni coustuma pontagii vel transversi. Archives de la Seine Inférieure. St. Wandrille. Caudebec mat. div. A. à Z. *Fréville, Histoire du commerce maritime de Rouen*, t. I. pp. 189-190.

‡ Magni Rot. Scacc., p. 151, col. 1. *Fréville. Hist. du Commerce mar. de Rouen*, t. I., p. 189.

and duties charged at Rouen on wines, in a charter granted, in 1189, by King Richard to the Hotel Dieu of Rouen, which is exempted from *tonlieu*, *pontage* and *modiatio*.\*

This tax was very productive and serves to illustrate the importance of the wine trade of the metropolis of Normandy at the close of the twelfth century. In 1195, Richard I. granted to the church of St. Mary of Rouen, for his anniversary, and to repair the losses and injuries inflicted on it and the archbishop by Philip, King of France, during the late war, no less than three hundred casks of wine to be taken annually from his wine dues—*modiatione*—in whole casks as, and of such wine as, he is wont to receive; the archbishop to have a hundred for his own use, and the canons the other two hundred.†

Henry II. granted, in 1150, to his faithful men of Rouen a charter which, *inter alia*, provided the following regulations: No merchant may pass through Rouen with his goods by way of the Seine, either one way or the other, unless he be a citizen of Rouen. . . . The citizens of Rouen have in London the port of Dunegate, as they had in the time of Edward the Confessor. . .

\* *Quieti sint . . . de modatione, de teloneo, pontagio. . . . See Fréville. Hist. du Com. Mar. de Rouen, t. I., p. 190. Later on during the fourteenth century, this modiatio was called coutume du choix des vins, the definition of which has been given by Mr. Ch. Richard as follows: "La recette du choix des vins était sans doute, appelée ainsi à cause de la manière dont on percevait cet impôt royal, qui était du dix-neuvième. Le percepteur choisissait les trois pièces qui lui semblaient les*

*meilleures, et, sur celles—i, le marchand en choisissait à son tour deux, qu'il reprenait, laissant la troisième au fisc.—Episodes de l'histoire de Rouen, XIV<sup>e</sup>. et XV<sup>e</sup>. siècles, p. 75. Fréville, Hist. du Comm. mar. de Rouen, t. I., p. 189.*

† Charters preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland. Ed. by J. H. Round, Vol. I. p. 18. In 1107, Henry I. made a gift of ten casks of wine a year from his cellar to the nuns of St. Amand, Rouen. *Idem*. Vol. I., p. 27.

The men of Rouen who are merchants of the guild, are quit of all custom in London, except for wine and grampus. They are at liberty to go, with their goods, to all the markets of England, paying the usual royal customs.

No ship, from any part of Normandy, can go to Ireland, except from Rouen, with the exception of one vessel each year which may proceed from Cherbourg. And whatever ship comes from Ireland, if it passes the point of Guernsey, must come to Rouen.\*

Later on, to reward the citizens of Rouen for the staunch resistance they offered to Louis VII. when this monarch besieged their town in 1174, Henry extended further their privileges; they were exempted of all tolls on both sides of the Channel, and the exceptions concerning wine and grampus were removed.

The commercial relations between Rouen and England came to an end when Normandy passed into the hands of the French Kings. Rouen remained faithful to the Crown of England to the last, and refused to treat with Philippe Auguste even when this monarch had conquered the whole of Normandy. At last, however, the proud city

\* Nullus mercator transeat Rothomagum cum mercatura sua, per viam Sequance, vel sursum vel civis Rothomagensis fuerit. . . . . Ipsi cives Rothomagi habeant apud Londonium portum de Dunegate, sicut habuerunt a tempore Edward Regis. . . . . Homines Rothomagi, qui de gilda sunt mercatorum, sint quieti de omni consuetudine apud Londonium, nisi de vino et de crasso pisce. Liceat eis ire, cum mercibus suis, per omnes nundinas Angliæ, salvis legalibus

consuetudini regis. Nulla navis, de tota Normannia, debet eschippare ad Hiberniam, nisi de de Rothomago, exceptâ unâ solâ, cui licet eschippare de Cæsarisburgo, semel in anno. Et quæcumque navis de Hiberniâ venerit, ex quo caput de Gernes transierit, Rothomagum veniat. . . . . See the whole text in *Chéruel, Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale* t. I., pp. 241, 242. *Fréville, Commerce maritime de Rouen*, t. I., pp. 109, 110.

fell and was treated by Philip—as a conquered town; her old trading privileges were, for the most part abolished, and her commerce received a severe blow. But the French king's anger at Rouen's long resistance is far more rational than the conduct of King John; although this prince had always refused to send help to the metropolis of his Norman Duchy during its gallant struggle, no sooner had the citizens of Rouen been forced into the allegiance of Philip—than John treated them as rebels and enemies. He ordered that their goods seized in England should be forfeited, all English ports were shut to them, and they were expelled from the London guild or Hanse.\*

The antiquity of the commercial relations between Bordeaux and England is very remote, since Strabo, who was born in the year 50 B.C., wrote that Bordeaux was one of the three ports from which people usually passed from Europe into Britain.† Bordeaux was then a commercial centre of some importance, and the market town of the Bituriges,‡ but Strabo does not mention that vines were then grown on the banks of the Garonne. It is, however, very probable that they were already cultivated, and that the art of making wine was known in Bordeaux some twenty centuries ago.

In the learned treatise of Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, written A.D. 42, there are frequent mentions of Bordeaux vines, which, it is true, are only given a second place as regards quality, although the author

\* Charter of King John, A.D. 1206. *Sciatis quod commodavimus probis hominibus de Gippewic, XX marcas argenti quas arrestastis de cattalis hominum de Rothomago et de Cadomo.* Rotolus claus. litt.

7 John. memb. 6. Cf. Chéruef, *Histoire de Rouen*, t. I., pp. 97, 112. Fréville, t. I., p. 197.

† Strabo's *Geography*, Lib. IV. ch. V. t. III. p. 78.

‡ *Idem*. ch. II. t. II., p. 39.

says that they were sought after in Italy, being of very resisting plants.\*

Under the Roman domination, civilisation and progress spread throughout Aquitaine, and the saintly Salvianus, in his book on Providence, written in the first half of the fourth century, extols the vines, the rivers, the meadows, and the woods of Aquitaine, of which the inhabitants seem "to have been given an image of Paradise rather than a part of Gaul."†

We know that two of his contemporaries, Ausonius,‡ and his friend Paulinus,§ possessed vines near Bordeaux. The former was born there and often refers to the excellence of its wines: "Oh my native land, thou so famed for thy wines!"|| he exclaims; and when he sees the vine-clad hills bordering the Moselle, they remind him of Burdigala.¶

The culture of the vine had been flourishing during the four first centuries of our era in Aquitaine, when this prosperous province was invaded by the Barbarians, who not only drove the Romans away but destroyed everything by fire and by sword,

\* Columella. De Re Rustica. . . .  
*Bituricam*, multi spioniam, quidam basilicam, nonnulli arcelacam laudibus efferunt. Lib. III. cap. VII. seg. 1; tanquam *Bituricum*, aut basilicum, . . Lib. III. cap. IX, seg. 1; . . . cum istinc *Bituricæ* fructibus optimæ. . . . Lib. III. cap. XXI. seg. 3. *Bituricus* was used to designate both the people of Berry and Bordeaux, but there can be no doubt that Columella refers to the latter; it was, amongst others, the opinion of the learned Mr. Francisque Michel (*Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux*, 1866, t. I., ch. I.)

† S. Salviani. De Gubernatione

Dei., Lib. VII. p. 154. Edit. Steph. Baluzio. Paris, 1684.

‡ Ausonius. Villula, v. 21, 23 (*Edyllia* X.), also Ausonius Paulino; epist. XXIII. v. 92.

§ Paulini Euchar. v. 197.

|| Ausonius. Claræ Urbes cap. XIV., *O patria, insignem Baccho*.

¶ Ausonius, *Mosella*. Edyll X.—  
In speciem quum me patriæ, cultumque intentis  
Burdigalæ, blando pepulerunt omnia visu.  
Culmina villarum, pendentibus edita ripis,  
Et virides Baccho colles, et amœna fluenta  
Subterlabentis tacito rumore Mosellæ.

burnt harvests, vines, and houses, killing mercilessly all the ill-fated inhabitants who had not fled to the woods.

In the words of a contemporary writer and eye-witness: "If the whole ocean had swept over Gaul, its receding waters could not have left it so devastated; the cattle have disappeared and the seeds of the fruits of the earth. No traces are left of the vines and olive trees. . . ." etc.\*

For over a century after this terrible visitation there is no mention to be found of the vines of Gascony, but in the seventh century they were again very abundant, so much so that neighbouring provinces and islands were supplied with Gascon wines. Bordeaux was still the chief town of Aquitaine, that is, the whole of the country between the Gironde and the territory of Toulouse,† and it had barely recovered some of its former commercial activity when it was once more ruined by the unruly Normans, who from the sixth to the tenth century were practically masters of the seas from the estuary of the Rhine to that of the Garonne. They intercepted most of the shipping in the Bay of Biscay, and in 851 they even took and burnt Bordeaux and a few other towns on the coast.‡

\* De providentia divina carmen; prolog. v. 27; inter S. Prosper. Opera Omnia. Ed. in folio Parisiis, ann. 1711. p. 787. S. Prosper was born in 403 and died in 463.

† Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi Scriptores. Eulogium historiarum sive temporis V. II. pp. 111-112. De Wasconia. Provincia Wasconia est antiquitus comprehensa sub Aquitania, juxta Pyreneum sita, a Vescoso oppido nominata. . . . Terra silvestris et montuosa, frugifera, Vinifera, ita quod regiones propinquas et vicinas

insulas in vini copiam redundare facit. Hanc regionem Gerona fluvius a Tholosana separat, quæ Wasconiam præterfluens juxta Burdigalem metropolim urbem Wasconia Oceanum intrat. Hoc Isidorus, libro IX. St. Isidorus was Bishop of Seville in 1601 and wrote a "Chronicle from the Creation of Man until A.D. 626"; he died in 1636.

‡ Rerum Britann. Præmium in Normannicum Draconem. Vol. II. cap. XXII. De urbibus quas Rollo vel Hastingus vastaverunt.

One of their most renowned chiefs, Rollo, wrought untold havoc, burning and pillaging towns such as Rheims, Orleans, Angers, and Poitiers, as well as those on the sea-shore ; he had ravaged France for thirty-six years when he was baptised in 912, and turned his energies to suppressing pirates, whom his former example and successes had rendered more numerous and bolder.\*

The commerce of Bordeaux slowly and gradually regained its former importance, much wine being sent to Rouen and thence to Paris, until this port, with the whole south-west of France, was brought under the domination of the English sovereign by the marriage of Henry II. and Eleanor of Aquitaine. The wine trade of Bordeaux with England dates from that time, and it soon became very considerable. Gascon merchants ceased to be aliens and subject to endless vexations in England ; their trade was favoured by King and Commons alike, and they were not slow in availing themselves of such an opportunity. Throughout the Middle Ages we shall find the Bordeaux vintners to be by far the most numerous, the most powerful, and the wealthiest men engaged in the wine trade with England.

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\* *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, t. VII., p. 65 c ; and *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*, t. II. p. 525 d.



## CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE held probably the last place in the thoughts of Richard when he ascended the throne, and yet, by the enactment of his marine laws, which were destined to afford far greater security to all engaged in maritime transactions, this king gave a considerable stimulus to the foreign trade of England. Unfortunate mariners who were forced to put in at some port on their way to England, by stress of weather, or whose vessel was thrown on either English or Continental coasts by unfavourable winds, were certain to lose their ship and its cargo, and had to fear for either their life or liberty.

The most remarkable of King Richard's marine laws is the code known as the Laws of Oléron, which were intended to put a stop to such barbarous practices. They completely altered the laws of wreck and were devised to ensure a better order and policy on board ships of the mercantile service.

One of the first articles deals with the overhauling and safety of vessels before leaving Bordeaux, Rouen, or any other port. Before any goods were shipped the master was to satisfy the merchants of the strength of his ropes and slings; and if he did not do so or they requested him to repair them, and a cask was stove, the master was to make it good.

The treatment of the crews was also regulated. Mariners of Brittany were entitled only to one meal

a day, because they had beverage going and coming ; but those of Normandy were to have two meals, because they had only water at the ship's allowance. As soon as the ship arrived in a wine-country, the master was, however, to procure them wine.

One of the most important and beneficial regulations of the Laws of Oléron was that which abolished the *droit de bris*, by which wrecked vessels became the prey of the finder, who shared the spoils with the lord of the place where such ship had been wrecked. It was not uncommon for pilots, "like faithless and treacherous villains," to run aground purposely vessels entrusted to their guidance, receiving a reward from the lord of the place, who was not long in seizing his prey. To put a stop to this it was decreed that if a pilot, from ignorance or otherwise, failed to conduct a ship in safety, and the merchants sustained any damage, he was to make full satisfaction if he had the means ; if not, he was to lose his head, and if the master, or any one of his mariners, cut off his head they were not bound to answer for it.\*

Another article provided that any wreckers who plundered a ship, and who, to gain possession of the goods, "should murder and destroy poor shipwrecked seamen, should be plunged into the sea till they be half dead, and then drawn out from the sea and stoned to death."

Going still further, the Laws of Oléron decreed that, even when the crew should be all lost or perished, the pieces and timbers of the ship still belonged to the original owners, notwithstanding any custom to the contrary, "and any participators of the said

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\* A genuine treatise on the | pleat body of the Sea Laws. 4to, dominion of the sea, and a com- | 2nd Ed. No date.

wrecks, whether they be bishops, prelates, or clerks, shall be deposed, and deprived of their benefices. . . .”

Such drastic measures certainly did much towards the greater security of the seas, but King Richard was not slow in demanding payment in return for the benefit merchants derived from the greater facilities they had of trading. Duties and customs were charged, not only on goods arriving in England, but also on these same goods at the export ports, principally at Bordeaux, where salt and wine laden on board any ship had to pay a tax. The amount of these taxes is unknown, but the fact that they were collected is beyond doubt, since King John decreed “that all duties that were put on the Bordeaux merchants by his brother, King Richard, shall be maintained.” \*

The magnificence, not to say the extravagance, with which preparations for the Crusade were carried on in the first year of the reign of Richard was on such a scale that wine was purchased in London and placed on board with arms and cloths for the Crusaders, although these were going to stop at many ports in wine-growing countries on their way to the Holy Land.†

Although the Crusades had a certain influence on the development of the foreign trade of England, it was not to be felt in the wine trade of England before many years after, when the Levant wines began to be imported into this country.

\* Rot. litt. pat., 15 Joh., Vol. I., pars. 1, p. 113, col. 1 and 2.

† Henry de Cornhill, Sheriff of London, by virtue of precepts from the King, provided arms, cloth, and wine. . . . Et pro

vino ad opus regis xxiii l. per idem breve, et per visum ejusdem Willelmi. Mag. Rot., 1 R. I., Rot. 13 a., Lond. et Midd. Madox, History of the Exchequer, Chapter X., p. 254.

The "prisage" of wines during Richard's reign must have been very little productive, as most of the activity and resources of the country were diverted from trade and industry by a wasteful war abroad and misgovernment at home.

Prisage was commonly accounted for at the Exchequer, by the chamberlains of the King's wines, under the title of Camberlengaria or Cameraria Londoniæ. \*

In 1196, Henry de Casteillun, accounted for £28 2s. 6d.,† the price of certain prize wines, and, in 1198, Gervaise de Aldermannesbiria accounted for £33 11s. *de prisis vini*; ‡ but these accounts are very insignificant compared with those of later reigns, even that of King John.

That wine was drunk throughout England during the reign of Richard I. is, however, proved by the fact that in Wiltshire,§ London, Southampton, and Aylesbury || vintners were fined, in 1194, for selling wine to the people contrary to the assize, that is, at a higher price than had been fixed by authority.

From the very beginning of his reign, John appears to have affected to favour the interests of that part of the community connected with trade, now daily rising into more importance, and to have courted their support against the power of the nobility and clergy. Immediately after his accession he granted three charters to the citizens of London,

\* This practice remained in force during the reign of King John and during part of that of Henry III.; this prince appointed other officers called *captores* or *emptores vinorum regie*, who were superseded during the reign of Edward III. by others called the King's *pincerna* or butler. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 526.

† Mag. Rot. 8 Ric. 1. Rot. 1b. Madox, p. 532.

‡ Mag. Rot. 10 Ric. 1. Rot. 12b. Madox, p. 532.

§ Abbieviatio Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westm., p. 19. col. 1.

|| Three Rolls of the King's Court in the reign of King Richard the First, 1194-1195 (Pipe Roll Society Publications).

and he also, probably at the same time, addressed letters to all the most important commercial towns throughout the kingdom, enjoining that foreign merchants of every country should have safe conduct, for themselves and their merchandise, in coming into or going out of England, and that they should meet with the same treatment in England that the English merchants met in the countries from which such merchants came.\*

The King's solicitude towards the welfare of the mercantile classes was even extended to his dominions beyond sea, and he made free grants of land, mostly covered with woods or marshes, near Bordeaux, on the condition that such land should be cultivated or redeemed and planted with vineyards.†

In England, the commercial towns and the counties to which, besides London,‡ the King's intention to grant his protection to foreign merchants was made known, were Winchester, Southampton, Lynn, and the Cinque Ports; the counties of Sussex, Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Devonshire, and Cornwall, received similar notification, "whence it appears," observes Macpherson, "that the south coast and the east coast only as far as Norfolk, were esteemed the whole, or at least the chief, of the commercial part of the country."§ We cannot agree with the conclusion of Macpherson, inasmuch as we

\* Maitland's "History of London," Vol. I. pp. 73-75.

† "... ad excolendum per diversas partes, tam ad vineas quam ad aliam agriculturam." Rotuli litt. pat. 7 Joh. Vol. I. pars I. p. 63, col. 1. Similar grants were made later by Henry III. and Edward I. See Pat. litt. fact in Vasc. 37 Hen. III. m. 10; Rot. Vasc. 7 Ed. I. m. 6;

12 Ed. I. m. 5; 17 Ed. I. pars I. m. 5. See also Baurein. Variétés bordelaises. T. IV. pp. 70, 72.

‡ Writs to the Mayor and Commonalty of London, etc., 5 April, 1200. Printed by Hakluyt (ed. 1809, Vol. I. p. 143), in Records of the Tower.

§ Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce."

have proofs of the importance the wine trade had already acquired in the northern towns as well as in the South of England. Such were Newcastle, in Northumberland, York and Selby in Yorkshire, Lincoln, Grimsby, and Boston in Lincolnshire, whilst Bristol and Chester were two very ancient and important seats of trading. There is therefore every reason to believe that this list of important towns has only reached us in an imperfect and incomplete state.

King John looked on the wine trade as a very important source of revenue for the Crown, and he always did his best to encourage it; four years after a general permission had been given to all foreign merchants to trade freely in England, the King issued a special ordinance granting his protection to the merchants of Poitou, Gascony, and Perigord who would come and sell their wines in England.\*

The King even condescended to grant his personal protection to individuals sending their wines to England. He took under his protection, for instance, two ships of Alan de Sorhams with a cargo of wines belonging to Osbert de Kileboe, and thereby commanded that no prise should be taken from these wines besides the King's *recta prisam* †; in the same year similar protection was granted for two other ships. ‡

\* Rot. litt. pat. 6 Joh. Vol. I. pars I. p. 45, col. 2.

† Rex, etc., Omnibus Ballivis suis ad quos etc. Sciatis quod duæ naves quas Alanus Junior de Sorham ducit, in quibus vina Osberti de Kileboe sunt, in custodia and protectione nostra sunt. Unde vobis mandamus, quod de vinis prædictis nullam prisam capiat, propterquam rectam prisam nostram. Et valeant hæc Litterae usq; ad mediam Quadagesimam

anno regni nostri quinto. T. G. filio Petri Comite Essexie apud Frigidam Matell. xvij die Jan. Pat. 5 Joh. 1a. 3. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 526.

‡ . . . et ideo vobis mandamus, quod naves illas custodiat et manuteneatis, et nullam prisam de navibus illis capiat, nisi ubi prisam solet antiquitus capi, etc. Pat. 5 John. m. 4. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 526.

It seems evident that the "Chamberlains" used their discretionary powers to such an extent that they levied a prisage of their own besides that which they had to account for at the Exchequer; otherwise, wine merchants could have had no object in asking, and usually in paying for, the King's Letters Patent ordering that no other prisage but the royal *recta prisa* should be taken from their cargo.

For instance, Bernard Achard and his companions paid forty marks and two casks of wine to the King that no prise or other custom might be taken from the cargo of their two ships laden with wines.\*

Gerard le Saintier gave two casks of wine, for letters patent giving him leave to bring into England a shipload of wine,† and the Abbot of Fécamp paid two barrels of Auxerre wine, for similar letters patent enabling him to bring to England a shipload of wine before the feast of St. Peter in Chains.‡

The quantity of wine taken by King John as prisage fell short of his requirements, and there are many records of purchases, some of them very important ones, of wine for the Royal Household and Castles.

Engelard de Cygoini, for instance, when he accounted to the King for the ferm of Bristol, in 1210, was allowed fifty shillings, which he had paid for

\* Bernardus Achard et socii sui debent xl marcas et ii tonella vini, ut nulla prisa vel consuetudo capiat de duabus navatis vini. Mag. Rot. 11 Joh. Rot. 2 b. Not. et Dereb. tit. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 527.

† Gerardus le Seintier debet ii tonella vini, pro habendis Literis Regis patentibus de licentia ducendi in Angliam unam navatam vini. Per Plegiagium Briani de Insula.

Mag. Rot. 11 Joh. Rot. 12. b. Everwichsc. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 325.

‡ Abbas de Fiscammo debet ii dolia vini Aucerensis et raspia pro habendis Literis Patentibus de licentia ducendis in Angliam unam navatam vini semel infra festum S. Petri ad Vincula. Mag. Rot. 11 Joh. rot. la. Sudsexia tit. nova oblata. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 325.

four casks of red wine *de prisa*, and thirty pounds and a mark for twenty-two casks of red wine bought for the King's use. \*

Two years later the King's purchases were on a far greater scale, amounting to £507 11s. for 348 casks of wine,† of which eight came from Anjou, twenty-six from Auxerre, fifty-four from the Orleanais and the Ile de France, three from Germany, and no less than 267 from Gascony.

These seem to have generally been known as Gascon wines, but there are instances when they were sold under the name of their growth, such as wines of Gaillac or Moissac, which enjoyed then great repute and fetched higher prices than other wines shipped from Bordeaux.‡

Prisage wines, and those which were bought for the King, formed the chief source from which the royal cellars were supplied, but many casks of rare and good wine were also obtained by means of fines and seizures under all sorts of pretexts.

One of the most amusing instances of this practice is found in the Great Roll of the eleventh year of the reign of King John, where it is on record that the Bishop of Winchester was fined in one cask

\* Et pro iiiij tonellis de vino rubeo de prisa, lx s. scilicet xv s. pro tonello, pr. breve [Regis]. Et pro xvij tonellis vini rubei emptis ad opus Regis, xxxj l. et xiiij s. et iiiij d. per idem breve. Mag. Rot. 12 John. Rot. 10 b. m. 2. Madox, p. 526.

† Et pro v tonellis Andegavensis [vini] de prisa, et tribus emptis; et pro xlv tonellis vini Gasconie de prisa, et co et xxij tonellis emptis; et pro ii tonellis Autisiodorensis de prisa, et xiiij tonellis

emptis; et pro xxxi tonellis Francieis de prisa, et xxiii tonellis emptis; et pro iij tonellis de prisa de Saxonia, D et vii l. et xj s. Mag. Rot. 14 John. Rot. 5 a. m. 4. Madox, p. 527.

‡ See the Rot. litt. claus. 9 Joh. Vol. I. p. 88, col. 2, and Vol. I. p. 89, col. 1; 2 Hen. III. p. 271, col. 1, and 10 Hen. III. Vol. II., p. 118, col. 1. The cost of the cask of Moissac wine is given as 34s., while Gascony wine only fetched 27s. per tun.



of *good* wine, for not reminding the King to give a girdle to the Countess of Albemarle.\*

In one of the earlier rolls of the same reign, the Earl of Leicester is said to have been fined in a cask of wine of Auxerre, for putting the seal to an agreement between himself and the Bishop of Lincoln. †

Hugh, Archdeacon of Wells, was also made to give a tun of wine, for leave to carry some corn whither he would. ‡

Seizures of wines were by no means infrequent, and always arbitrary; on the 4th May, 1203, the King acknowledged receipt of some wine from a ship which had been "seized" at Orford by John de Bucy, § but the reason which led to this seizure, and which was probably very slight, was not even recorded.

It was to avoid, as much as possible, the risk of such arbitrary proceedings on their arrival in England, that many merchants sought for, and often obtained, the King's special protection for their persons and their wines. Many of these safe conducts were granted in 1213, particularly to merchants from Bordeaux and also from La Réole,|| in consideration of certain gifts of wine which went under the name of fines.

\* Episcopus Wintoniensis [debet] i tonellum vini Boni quia non red-  
duxit ad memoriam Regis de zon-  
danda Comitissæ de Albemar. | Mag.  
Rot. 11. Joh. Rot. 14 b. Sudhand.  
Madox, p. 352.

† Comes Leircestræ debet i  
tonellum vini Aucerr. Pro apponendo  
sigillo concordie factæ inter ipsum  
et Episcopum Linc. Mag. Rot. 6  
Joh. Rot. 17 b. War et Leircestr.  
Madox, p. 351.

‡ Hugo, Archidiaconus Wellensis  
debet i tonellum vini, pro licentia  
ducendi De Summas frumenti quo

voluerit. Mag. Rot. 10 Joh. Rot.  
11 a. Dors. et Sumers. Madox, p. 325.

§ Rot. litt. pat. 4 Joh. p. 29.

|| Rot. litt. pat. 15 Joh. Vol. I.  
pars. I. p. 114, col. 1. In that year,  
a Bordeaux wine merchant, who  
had failed to obtain a royal letter  
of protection, sent some wines to  
Bristol, but when he tried to sell  
them the sheriff interfered and  
forced him to accept a price fixed  
by a committee of notable local  
wine merchants. Rot. litt. claus.  
15 Joh. Vol. I. p. 173, col. 2.

But the King's exchequer derived no profit from such fines, and money was more often demanded than wine for the grant of safe conducts as well as for a penalty in the case of breaches of the assize and other offences. Thus Elias de Worksop and Geoffrey the Dyer were fined for selling wine contrary to the assize,\* and even the King's wine merchants, Walter Fortin and Robert Hardwin, were made to pay fifty marks for failing to purchase wines to the satisfaction of the Monarch.†

When the Exchequer was at a lower ebb than usual, such fines and seizures became more frequent and arbitrary. There was, for instance, a certain Norman, whose wines were sold by royal order at Southampton, the proceeds of the sale being paid into the Exchequer, without any reason being given for this action.‡

Not satisfied with his *recta prisâ* and the proceeds of fines and customs, which must have been very considerable, King John tried to increase the royal revenue by buying and selling wine at a profit, and there is no doubt that his exceptional position as head of the nation, and his pre-emption rights would have made him a formidable competitor, if his commercial enterprise had not been checked by his death.

The first royal deal in wines mentioned in the Exchequer records is an account of £21 5s., being the profit made on seventy-three casks of wine, thirty-

\* Elyas de Workesop debet dimidium marcum, pro vino vendito contra assisam. Mag. Rot. 4 Joh. Rot. 7 b. m. 2. Madox, p. 394.

† Walter Fortin et Robertus Hardwin r. c. de L marcis, eo quod male emerant vina Regis. Mag.

Rot. 8 Joh. Rot. 10 b. Madox, p. 393.

‡ Et de xij marcis de vinis cujusdam Normanni venditis. Mag. Rot. 15 Joh. Rot. 15 b. post Sudhant. Madox, p. 531.

one of which were wines *de prisâ* and forty-two wines purchased, and which were all resold.\*

In the following year there is a similar entry of £16 10s. profit on twenty casks of wine *de prisâ* and £20 8s. profit on sixty casks of wine purchased and sold again.†

The benefit derived by the Royal Exchequer from such sales is all the more obvious when one considers that the King was in a position to obtain immediate payment for what was due to him, whereas the poor wine merchants, who had sold him wine, were usually made to wait several years before they could obtain payment from their Royal creditor. When King John died he owed a thousand and eighty marks (£720) to several Bordeaux merchants who never could obtain more than six hundred marks (£400), in settlement of the whole claim, and this after waiting for five years! ‡

King John was very anxious to further the development of the wine trade in England and to bring about a more universal consumption of wine throughout the kingdom, knowing that the duties he levied at each port on this commodity were a far more permanent and reliable source of revenue than any arbitrary fines he might impose or any seizures he might order. Consequently he decided, on his accession to the throne, to regulate the price of wine in this country, and to fix the maximum price at which it should be sold so that the cheapness of

\* Et xxi l. et v s. de proficuo lxxiii tonellorum, de quibus xxxi tonelli sunt de prisâ, et xlij empti; qui omnes fuerunt venditi. Mag. Rot. 14 Joh. Rot. 5 a., m. l. Madox, p. 527.

† Scilicet de xx tonellis de

proficuo tonellorum de prisâ xvi l. et x s.; et de xx l. et viij s. de proficuo lx tonellorum qui fuerunt empti et venditi. Mag. Rot., 15 Joh.; Rot. 9 a. Madox, p. 531.

‡ Rot. litt. claus. 6 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 481, col. 1; cf. col. 2.

the article might induce a greater part of the community to make use of it.

He decreed that no cask of Poitou wine should be sold for more than 20s., no cask of Anjou wine more than 24s., and no cask of French wine\* more than 25s., unless the quality of the wine was such as to tempt somebody to offer two marks or more.†

The maximum retail price of wine was fixed by the King at 6d. for white wines and 4d. for Poitou wines, per sextarius.‡

This measure never was carried into effect, since the Contemporary Chroniqueur who has transmitted it to us adds that "this first Statute of the King had barely been enacted when it ceased to be observed, for merchants could not bear this tariff, and permission was given to sell the sextarius of red wine 6d. and of white wine 8d.; and then it was that the country was full of drink and drunkards."§

Even this rate was not long adhered to, and the King himself was often made to pay more for his wines than the maximum price he had fixed. The

\* French wines were those which did not come from either Gascony, Poitou, Anjou, or Burgundy, but from the territory of the King of France, viz., Orléanais and Ile de France, etc.

† "Johannes rex statuit, quod nullum tonellum vini Pictavenis vendatur carius quam xx solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Andegavenis carius quam xxiv solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Francie carius quam pro xxv solidis, nisi vinum illud adeo bonum sit, quod aliquis velit pro eo dare circa duas marcas et altius." *Annales Monasterii Burtonensis*, ap. Gale, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum*, t. I. pp. 253, 258.

‡ Stow, in his "Survey of London," translates sextarius by gallon, and

Sir H. Spelman says that a sextar is 8 pints. According to Bishop Fleetwood, author of the "*Chronicon Preciosum*," the sextarius was more than a gallon; his assumption is based on the fact that an English tun being equivalent to 252 gallons, wine at 6d. a gallon would have brought the price of the tun to £6 6s., whereas the maximum price fixed at the time for the tun was but £1 5s. See "*Chronicon Preciosum*, or, an Account of English Money, the Price of Corn and other Commodities for the last 600 years." London, 1707, pp. 72, 73, 74.

§ "... Et sic repleta est terra potu et potatoribus." *Continuatio Chronici Willelmi de Novoburgo* ad ann. 1298, in *Rerum Brit. Scrip.*, p. 505.

less or greater abundance and the superior or inferior quality of the wine offered for sale, more than any Statute of the realm, were the main factors, and rightly so, which regulated the price of wine.

In 1208, 26s. 8d. per cask were paid by the King to William Reimund, at Southampton, but four years later July 3rd, 1212, £144 were paid to Nicholas de Castell and others for eighty casks of Gascony wine bought at the rate of 36s. per cask.\*

In 1213, there were thirty casks of the rough Oléron wines bought at 20s. each for which 40 marks were paid.† In the same year, ten casks of wines from La Réole, in Gascony, were bought for 33s. 4d. each,‡ whilst ten casks of the same growth, but probably of not quite so good a quality, were bought at Sandwich at 30s. per cask from Reginaldus de Ryola.§

At the same time, 325 marks (*viz.*, £215 8s. 4d.) were paid to Gerald of Bordeaux for fifty casks of wine,|| at the rate of about 86s. per cask, although a few years before 2 marks (*viz.*, 26s. 8d.) had been decreed to be the maximum price for the best wine.

Three years later, in 1215, wine being abundant, prices fell without the King having to interfere in the matter, and 48 casks of Gascoigne and Anjou wines, the price of which had been fixed at 24s. per cask, were bought by the King at 20s.¶

Other records, such as the Patent Rolls, which begin in the third year of the reign of King John,

\* Milner, General History of Hampshire. Vol. II., p. 176.

† Rot. Litt. Claus., 14 Joh., Vol. I., p. 126, col. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 88, col. 2.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 180, col. 1.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 133, col. 2.

¶ Rot. Litt. Claus., 17 Joh., Vol. I., p. 217, col. 2; *cf.* p. 220, col. 2.

exhibit the same fluctuations of prices according to scarcity and quality, and quite irrespective of the newly enacted Statute regulating the sale price of wines. In 1202, for example, the King bought 36 casks of wine from Bernard of Bordeaux, for which he only paid £26, whilst he paid at the same time 300 marks (£200) and 25s. for 103 casks of a better quality Bordeaux wine supplied by Raymond de Neriz, Arnaud de Langon and Pierre du Bourg.\*

Similar differences appear throughout the Close Rolls where frequent records are to be found of the Gascon and other wines bought by the King† for the Royal Household, and sent to London and different parts of the country, some of them of insignificant importance, such as Porstock, in Dorset, probably a royal shooting box, where the sheriffs of Exeter were directed to send three casks of Anjou wine in 1207.‡

Southampton, which was one of King John's favourite residences, was the principal port where he bought and kept his wines; the royal cellars there were under the charge of Daniel the Butler, and additional cellarage was often hired when larger stores than usual were received.

In 1205, 108 casks of wine were forwarded from Southampton to several royal residences in Hampshire, such as Winchester and Porchester; Dorsetshire, such as Dorchester and Sherborne; Wiltshire,

\* Rot. Litt. Pat., 4 Joh., Vol. I. part I., p. 28, col. 2.

† See Rot. litt. claus. 9 Joh. Vol. I., p. 88, col. 2; p. 117, col. 2; p. 121, col. 1; p. 128, col. 2; p. 138, col. 2; p. 157, col. 1; p. 163, col. 1, etc.

‡ Rot. litt. claus. 9 Joh. Vol. I., p. 107, col. 1. In 1205, 14s 11d. were paid for conveying the King's wines from Hull to York. Pipe Roll, 6 Joh., in Frost, *Notices relative to the early history of the town and port of Hull*, p. 95.

such as Marlborough and Clarendon; and even as far as Northampton.\*

With his characteristic inconsistency, King John ordered that wines should be retailed at a remarkably low price and, at the same time, he imposed on wine merchants a new duty called *Quinzième*, in addition to the customs dues and tolls which were already levied.

This additional duty of a Fifteenth has never been very clearly defined, and the most conflicting evidence has been brought to bear on the subject, making it very difficult to arrive at the truth.

There exists a list of the towns which, in the year 1205, paid this tax or tallage, but it is evidently incomplete, since such important ports as Bristol and Chester are not mentioned. The whole tax is said to have yielded at this time about five thousand pounds per annum, while of this total Lynn paid £651, Southampton £712, Boston £780, and London only £836. It cannot for a moment be believed that, in their comparative mercantile wealth, London and Boston stood in this relation to each other. To add to the perplexity, we find that three years after this time the merchants of London purchased from the King an entire exemption from paying the *Quinzième* for the small sum of 200 marks, that is to say, for less than a sixth part of the amount of the tax for one year. †

To make matters more unintelligible still we have the evidence of the Patent Rolls that this Fifteenth was a Royal tax which could be remitted

\* Milner. General History of Hampshire. Vol. II., pp. 174, 175, 176, 177.

† The History of British Commerce from the earliest times, by Geo. L. Craik, 1844, Vol. I., p. 111.

at the King's pleasure, and that King John did so in the case of a certain John de Spanny ; \* and at the same time we are to believe that it was a lucrative charge, the holder of which paid a certain annual sum to the King, by the fact that a certain Hugh Oisel proffered a thousand marks that he might have the *Quinzième* arising from merchandise throughout England, to hold from year to year, as William de Furnell and William de Wroteham held it, and to render to the King, by the year, as much as was rendered the previous year.†

The Fifteenth, whatever this duty may have been, and the other customs and tolls payable in England by wine merchants, were not the only tolls levied on these unfortunate traders ; they had to acquit export duties in the countries whence they came, and these were particularly heavy in Bordeaux. On leaving this port, merchants had to pay a municipal tax, the proceeds of which were devoted to the maintenance of the defences of the mouth of the Gironde, and dock dues for the repair of the quays ; but the heaviest and most unpopular tax levied at Bordeaux on all out-going vessels was the Royal Custom, the proceeds of which were paid into the King's Exchequer in England. Citizens of Bordeaux,

\* Sciatis quod quietavimus Johannem de Spanny, mercatorem dilectum et fidelis nostri R. Comitis Leircestrie, de Quindecima danda de rebus et merchandisiis suis propriis, etc. Rot. litt. pat. 5 Joh. m. 9. Madox, p. 529. In the following year Gascon merchants coming to Shoreham were exempted by the King of this *Droit de Quinzième*. Rot. litt. pat. 6 Joh. Vol. I. pars I. p. 45, col. 2.

† Hugo Oisel debet M. marcas, pro habenda Quindecima Angliæ, quamdiu Regi bene servierit, de

anno in annum, de Mercandisiis Mercatorum, sicut Willelmus de Furnell et Willelmus de Wroteham eam habuit anno præterito ; Et Rex assignabit Clericos suos ad pecuniam inde provenientem percipiendam. Mag. Rot. 5 Joh. Rot. 1 b. Lond. et Midd. Madox, p. 529. See also *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 94.

‡ Documents historiques inédits etc., publiés par Champollion Figeac, t. II., 2<sup>e</sup> part. pp. 45, 46.



however, whose wealth and influence were of great use to the often impecunious monarch, were exempted by King John from paying the Royal Custom ; Henry III., for political reasons, renewed this privilege in an order addressed to the Seneschal of Poitou and Gascony.\* No wine merchants, except those of Bordeaux, were ever granted this favour, and all those who sent their wines from La Réole, Gaillac, or any other wine growing district, to be shipped from Bordeaux, were made to pay the Royal Custom. To make this tax less objectionable to his Gascon subjects, the King would sometimes direct that the proceeds arising from it, instead of being forwarded to England, should be devoted to the payment of whatever wines the King might have bought from Gascon merchants.

In 1216, King John decreed that the revenue arising from all fees and tolls levied on all wines shipped from or passing through Bordeaux, should be employed to pay Guilheim Pey, Vidau Regnault and Vidau Guilhem for the wines purchased from them in England for the use of the Royal Household.†

Far more detrimental to the welfare of the wine trade than all these customs and tolls was the right of the Crown to impress, or take possession of all ships required for the national defence or the King's use in time of war.

The King had a few "long ships," "great ships," "busses," and "cogs," which were expressly called "ours," or "royal," in orders and decrees ; the Royal Navy was, however, very limited in number and depended largely on the merchant service for the

\* Rot. litt. claus. 4 Hen. III.  
Vol. I., p. 425, col. 1.

† Rot. litt. pat. 18 Joh. Vol. I.,  
p. 185, col. 2

numerous transport ships, without which large numbers of archers, men-at-arms, horses and supplies could not be landed in France, the hereditary battlefield of the Plantagenets.

The Crown possessed the unlimited right to impress ships in time of war, and whenever they were wanted, peremptory commands were issued to the authorities of the ports to lay an embargo upon every vessel therein.\*

To enforce strictly such a right, the Crown took precautions to ascertain from the bailiffs, or reeves, of all sea-ports, the number, size and state of the vessels belonging to each port.† If any of these vessels were on a voyage when they were wanted for the King's service, their owners were directed in peremptory terms to hasten their return.‡ Many ships belonging to Bordeaux or native wine merchants were often impressed; thus, in 1214, an order was given to the reeves of Bristol to send the King a list of all ships belonging to that port capable of holding 80 tuns of wine or more, specifying how many tuns each vessel could carry, together with the names and surnames of their owners, "*nomina et cognomina.*"§

In great emergencies, the King's galleys and those belonging to the Cinque Ports were sent into the Channel with orders to bring into port every vessel they might meet.|| In time of war no ship could quit a harbour without a special licence from the King,¶ and when such permissions were granted, securities were taken that the vessel should not

\* Rot. litt. claus., p. 133 et passim.  
† Rot. Pat., 7 Joh., p. 85, and  
Rot. Claus., p. 270.

‡ Rot. Pat., 7 Joh., pp. 197, 203.

§ Rot. Claus., p. 177.

|| Rot. Pat., 9 Joh., pp. 80, 110,  
117.

¶ Rot. Claus., p. 133.

touch at any place until she arrived at her destination ; \* security was also required that ships would not go to an enemy's country. †

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#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

*Extracts from the Laws of Oléron and the judgments of the sea, from the first volume of Monumenta Juridica, vide Black Book of the Admiralty.*

When a shyppe cometh saafe to the ryght dyscharge the mayster sholde shewe the marchauntes the ropes that they have to hoyse withall, and yf they se nede, the mayster ought to amende them. For yf the tonne lese by cause of the hoysynge or of the ropes, the mayster and the maryners amonge them must pay the marchauntes, and the mayster ought to pay after as he ought to take for unladynge, and the unladynge to be set fyrst to recover the losses, and the resydue to be departed among them. But yf the ropes breke without that the mayster shewe them to the merchauntes they are bounde to recompence the damages ; but yf the merchauntes say, the ropes be sure and good, if they breke, each of them ought to have part of the damage, that is to wyte, the marchaunt that owethe the wyne onely and the mayster and the maryners. This is the judgement.

A shypp beyng charged at Burdews or elsewhere, and hoyseth the sayle to go with the wyne, and the maister and his maryners trymmeth not theyr sayl as it shoulde, and yll wethering taketh them in the see, in suche maner the takelyng, crussbeth, or smyteth out the botome of tonne or pype, the shyp beyng sauf aryved at the ryght discharg, the marchauntes sayth to the mayster, that by his takelynge there wyne is loste. The mayster sayth nay, and if he wyll swere and three, or four, or half a dosen of his maryners or any of them whiche the marchauntes wyll, that the wyne was not lost by theyr default, nor by theyr takelyng as the marchauntes put on them, they ought to be quyt. But yf they wyl not swere they be bounde to ordre theyr sayle wel and truly, or they parte fro theyr charge. This is the judgement.

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\* Rot. Claus. pp. 120, 211.

| † Rot. Claus. pp. 210, 260, 270.

The maryneres of Brytayne ought to have but one meale on the day, by reason of that they have drynkes goynge and comynge, and they of Normandy ought to have two meals of the kitchen on the day because they have but water goynge at the shyp costes. And whan the ship is at the shore the maryners to have wyne to drynke and other at the fynding of the mayster. This is the jugement.

Les mariners de la costiere de Bretagne ne doivent avoir quune esquysine le jour par la raison quilz ont buvraige en alant et venant. Et ceulx de Normandie en doivent avoir deux le jour par la raison que leur maistre ne leur trouve que eaul a laller, mais puis que la nef sera arrivee a la terre ou le vin croist les mariners doivent avoir beverage et leur doit leur maistre querre. Et cest le jugement en le cas.

Item, it is established for a custom of the sea that yf a marchaunt freyght a shyp to load wyne at Bordeaux or elsewhere, the marchaunt may load the whole shyp to her port of dyscharge withoute the mayster or any body else, unless with the consent of the marchaunt, being able to put any thing on board, except suche victuals as may be necessary for the voyage. And this is the judgment in this case.

Item, it is ordained and established for a custom of the sea that yf a marchaunt load wyne in a shyp, he may load the hulle as full as the master reasonably could do with barrells without the mayster or anybody else putting anything on board or raising any hinderance. That is to say, of ten tonnes one pipe, and in proportion of the surplus. And this is the judgment in this case.

It is ordained for a custom of the sea that yf a marchaunt freyghte a shyp and load it with wynes, it seemeth to the maryners that the marchaunt ought of ryght to give to them in each place where they arrive, and on each day of a double feaste, a pot of wyne or two or three pots ; the maryners by ryght of lawe cannot have or demand anything, but the marchaunt may gyve them in courtoise what he pleaseth. This is the judgment in this case.

Item, it is ordained and established for a custom of the sea that yf a marchaunt freyght a shyp the mayster ought to furnish to the marchaunts every day a kitchen, yf the marchaunt demand it from the mayster, and moreover, if the ship is loaded with wynes, the mayster oughte to find him a boy to look after

the wyne of the marchaunt with as muche care and as often as yf they were the wyne of the mayster. And this is the judgment in this case.

Una nef est a Bordeu ou alhors, et lava sas velas pour arriver sons vins, et sen part, et naffient pas le mestre et les mariniers si come ilz daissent lurs baccles, et les prent mal temps en la mer en tella maneyra que lur fustalhe de laienes en fonda tonel o pippa, et la nef vient a sauvete, et les marchans dient que lur fustalhe dedens a lur vens perdutz, et le mestre dit que no no fist, si le mestre put jurer luy et ses tres companhons ou quatre de ceulx, que les marchans esliront, que lur vins ne se perderent pas pour lor fustalhe, si cum los marchans luy metont sus, il en doient estre quitis et delivres; et silz ne veulent mie jurer, ilz doivent rendre aux marchans tot los dommatges, car ilz sont tenuz afier lurs boccles et lurs elvers bien et certanement avant que ilz deiant departer de lu ont ils le chargent. Cest le jutgament in tel cas.

A ship is at Bordeaux or elsewhere, and hoists sail to carry its wines, and departs, and the master and crew do not secure as they ought their bulkheads, and bad weather takes them at sea in such manner that their casks in the hold stow in a tun or pipe, and the ship arrives in safety, and the merchants say that the casks have destroyed their wines, and the master says not so; if the master can swear himself and three of his crew or four of them, whom the merchants shall choose, that their wines were not destroyed by the casks since the merchants stowed them under them, they ought to be quit and set free, and if they are not willing to swear, they ought to render to the merchants all their damage, for they are bound to fasten their bulkheads and man-holes well and securely, before they ought to depart from the place, where they have laden (the ship). This is the judgment in such case.

A shyp being laden at Brest or elsewher, and hoyseth its sayle to go with its wyne, and the mayster and the maryners trymme not theyr sayl as they shulde, and bad wether taketh them at sea in suche manner, that the shyp's casks † roll, and stave in pipe or tonne, and the shyp arrives in saufte at its ryght dyscharge. The marchaunt says to the mayster that his wyne has been lost by fault of the shyp's casks. Thereupon yf the said mayster wyll swere, he and his maryners, be they three

or four or six, or of those whom the marchauntes wyll, that the wyne was not lost by them nor theyr shyp's casks\* nor by theyr defaulte, as the marchauntes put theyrs upon them, they ought to be quyt and released ; but yf it be so that they wyll not swere, they are bounde to order theyr sayle well and justly before they part from theyre charge. This is the judgment.

*Extract from Dat gotlansche water-recht (The Gotland Sea Laws)* Art 48, § 38, in *Black Book of Admiralty*, Vol. IV., p. 114-115.

Item, welk gud dar me ene polleie. . . . van enem stucke wynes ii grote, van ener pipen wins i groten. Unde weret dat se id vor sumeden der Koplude gut alle de an dem wingelde delden, de scholden den schaden gelden.

Likewise such goods as require a pulley to hoist them, . . . for a piece of wine two groats, for a pipe of wine one groat, and should it be that they are careless about the goods of the merchants, all who share in the hoisting dues shall pay for the damages.

*Extract from the Codex Dantiscensis (The Dantzic Ship-laws).* B.B. Art. IV., in *Black Book of the Admiralty*, Vol. IV., pp. 348-9.

. . . . . ende voort welc goed daer men een paleye om brenght et . . . . van i stic wiins ii groetem, van i pipe wiins i groete. . . .

And further, should there be any goods which require a pulley to land them . . . from a piece of wine two groats, from a pipe of wine one groat. . . .

*Extract from the Jus Maritimum Osterlingorum (Lubeck Maritime Law of the Osterlings).*

Van eneme vate wines van Rotzele, ofte van eneme oly vate vi penninghe Engelsch in unde ut. Van eneme Rineschen vate enen schillinc Engelsch, in unde ut.

For a barrel of wine of Rochelle, or for a barrel of oil, six pennies English to load or unload. For a barrel of Rhenish wine, one shilling English to load or unload.

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\* Shyp's casks : large casks, which were part of the fitting out of vessels engaged in the wine trade. Rolle of Olayron, Vol. II. p. 445-446.

## CHAPTER VI.

FEW men deserve more gratitude and praise from their country than William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the government of England was entrusted immediately after the death of King John. His task was, indeed, tremendous ; the King was but a child, the Kingdom was full of disloyal barons, London was in the hands of the foreigner, the Royal Exchequer was empty, and money was due by the Crown which it was almost impossible to raise in the disturbed state of the country.

With indomitable energy, the Regent defeated both Louis and the revolted barons, checked the lawlessness and disorders which had disgraced the last years of the reign of King John, and set himself resolutely to save the royal credit by paying off most of the late King's debts and avoiding any arbitrary measures calculated to frighten the commercial and industrial classes.

The rapid growth of the wine trade during the late reign gave it a prominent place in the fiscal and commercial policy of the Regent, and it claimed his immediate attention on his assumption of office. One of his first decrees was to order that a ship full of wine which had been seized should be immediately sent to De Burgh, the Justiciary, at Dover Castle, whilst the merchants to whom the wine belonged were ordered to be sent to the Regent, at Winchester,

where they would receive payment and compensation for their wines.\* At the same time, Robert de Courtenay was ordered to make restitution to one Stephen de Croy of eighty-six casks of Anjou wine which he had unjustly taken from him.†

The greatest difficulty which had to be solved by the Regent was the payment of the late King's creditors, amongst whom were many wine merchants, chiefly from Gascony, to whom considerable sums appear to have been due.

To pay these, the revenue arising from the royal dues at Bordeaux and other provincial taxes in Gascony were devoted; this source of revenue was, however, limited and soon exhausted. In the last year of his reign, King John had already granted the proceeds of all fees and tolls levied on wines shipped from Bordeaux to three wine merchants, his creditors; ‡ the Regent had therefore to appeal to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Seneschal of Gascony, and to order him to give satisfaction to the King's subjects of Bordeaux and La Rochelle who had supplied King John with wine for his Castle of Dover, paying them out of the provincial exchequer and at the rate of no more than two and a half marks sterling (33s. 4d.) per cask. §

\* De navi et vinis. Rex Philippo de Albuniaco, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod sine dilacione navem, quam in manum nostram ad mandatum Comitis W. Marescalli, rectoris nostris, saisiri fecistis, unde ei mandastis, mittatis usque Dovre, cum omnibus vinis in ea contentis ad muniendum castrum nostrum Dovre. Et vina illa liberari faciatis dilecto et fideli nostro H. de Burgo, Justiciario Anglie. Mittatis etiam usque Wintoniam, ad ipsum comitem W. Marescallum, mercatores quorum vina ipsa sunt, et ipse eis

satisfaciet de precio vinorum ipsorum. Rot. litt. pat., 1 Hen. III., m. 2.

† Eodem modo scribitur Roberto de Curtenay pro Stephano de Croy de LXXXVI dolis vini Andegavensis, et ab eo cepistis (*sic*) apud Exoniam. Rot. litt. pat., 1 Hen. III., m. 2.

‡ Rot. litt. pat., 18 Joh., Vol. 1, par. I., p. 185, col. 2. *See supra*, p. 84.

§ Rot. litt. claus. 2 Hen. III., Vol. I. p. 351, col. 2.



The Archbishop was naturally reluctant to pay the King's debts out of what he considered his own revenue, so that more detailed and imperative instructions had to be sent from London, where the Bordeaux merchants were urging their claims.\* These claims were so numerous and money so scarce that they could not possibly be all settled at once; there was, for instance, a sum of 1,080 marks (£720) due to some Bordeaux wine merchants, who sent one of their number, Raymond d'Ujac, to the King in England to urge a prompt settlement; as the provincial revenue of Gascony and the royal dues at Bordeaux were both already mortgaged, the money had to be found in England to pay these men who were made to wait five years and then were forced to accept 600 marks (£400) in settlement of the whole claim, all their efforts to obtain full justice being of no avail.†

During the first years of the reign of Henry III. the financial difficulties of the Government and the distrust of the Bordeaux wine merchants caused a very great falling off in the trade between England and Gascony. Mentions of shipments of wine from Bordeaux became very scarce, and purchases of wine for the royal household, castles, or soldiery were made on a greatly reduced scale.

In 1223, for instance, the constable of Bristol was ordered to buy only twenty casks of wine of

\* The Royal Council ordered that Rusteng de Solers, who had supplied eighty-two casks of wine for Dover Castle, in the time of King John, to the order of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, should be paid whatever sums were due to him, the money to come from the provincial exchequer of Gascony.

Royal and other historical letters, Vol. I., pp. 314, 315, No. CCLVIII. The Castle of Dover was frequently supplied with wine. See Pat. Rolls, 1 Hen. III., m. 2; Rot. litt. claus., 26 Hen. III., pars III., m. 3., etc.  
† Rot. litt. claus. 6 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 481, col. 1. Cf. col. 2.

Ernaldus de Mas, for the King's expedition into Wales; this wine was to be sent to the royal army at Montgomery, about the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle (21st September); it was first of all brought to Monmouth and thence sent to Hereford, where it was deposited till further orders in some building fit for its reception in Hereford Castle; it was forwarded thence to Shrewsbury early in October and must have been well shaken by the time it arrived at its journey's end.\*

In 1224, Gerard Columb arrived in London from Bordeaux with the first large consignment of wine since the new reign. The King was not yet of age and his Council asked the Bishop of London to choose some honest and loyal men from the City, who could be entrusted with the task of selecting a hundred casks of wine from those brought by Gerard Columb; 40s. per cask was the maximum price they were to pay, but every effort should be made to obtain a better price, if possible.†

During that same year, wines were bought in the name of the King in several ports of the kingdom, most of the royal castles having been completely depleted during the preceding years of short supply. The bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to pay Arnoud Guilhem for thirty casks of wine supplied by him for the royal household,‡ and similar orders were issued in favour of many other Bordeaux wine merchants, the names of Pierre Buzun, Gerard and William Columb, Arnaud Jean, Bonefous and Pierre

\* Rot. litt. claus., 7 Hen. III.  
† Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III.,  
Vol. I., p. 610, col. 2. Cf. *supr.* et  
*infr.*, p. 611, col. 2, and p. 613, col. 2.

‡ Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III.,  
Vol. I., p. 622, col. 2.

Simon occurring frequently in the Close Rolls of the eighth year of Henry III.\* (A.D. 1224).

The price at which these wines were sold varied considerably according to their quality: William Arthur and Arnaud of Bordeaux, for instance, received £26 5s. for fifteen casks of wine supplied to the King at the rate of 35s. each. This was also the rate at which Stephen of Bordeaux and William Columb were paid for sixty-three casks of wine supplied to the royal cellars; but Semirette and Galhard, both of Bordeaux, who supplied at the same time thirty-nine casks of wine, were only paid at the rate of 33s. each, whilst Raymond de la Grave received as much as £17 10s. for seven casks of wine, probably of very superior quality, being at the rate of 50s. per cask.†

De Burgh's wise administration and his repeated encouragements to merchants restored confidence amongst oversea traders, whilst the more prosperous state of the Exchequer rendered possible the large purchases of wine during the autumn of 1224, which were kept up during a few years, the cost of the wine remaining practically the same.

In 1225, Pierre Bauzun received £62 for thirty-five casks of Bordeaux wine at 36s. per cask,‡ and, in 1226, 38s. per cask was paid to Jean du Soley, of Bordeaux, for seventeen casks supplied by him for the Royal Castle at Bristol§; in the same year, however, a mixed syndicate of Gascon and English merchants received £175 for one hundred casks of

\* Rot. litt. claus., Vol. I., p. 619, col. 2; p. 635, col. 1; p. 636, col. 2; p. 638, col. 1; p. 639, col. 1; p. 645, col. 1, etc.

† Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 623, col. 1. Cf. p. 649, col.

1; p. 625, col. 1. Cf. p. 650, col. 2.

‡ Rot. litt. claus., 9 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 18, col. 2.

§ Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 122, col. 2.

Bordeaux wine, at the rate of 35s. per cask,\* whereas 41s. per cask was paid in London to William Raymond and Jean du Soley for forty casks of wine bought for the royal household.†

At no other time during the long and disastrous reign of Henry III. was justice enforced and order maintained throughout the realm better than during De Burgh's administration. He was anxious that the King should rule constitutionally and pay whatever he owed; he would not suffer that, either in port or market, undue exactions or illegal seizures should be tolerated. In 1224, for example, he ordered, in the name of the King, that a cargo of wine seized at Exeter, from a ship belonging to Raymond Bogenau and Gerard de Riverac, of Bordeaux, should be given back to the rightful owners; he recommended, at the same time, in imperative terms, that great courtesy should be shown to merchants from Gascony, and also to those from the possessions of the King's nephew, the Comte de Toulouse, who were allowed to trade freely in England.‡

The Justiciary's love of justice and good intentions were, however, taxed to their utmost extent when war once more broke out between France and

\* Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 86, col. 2. Their names were Thibaut, of Bristol, Arnaud de Fontibus, Pierre Simon, Walter d'Ange, Fortin de Noelani, Robert Flegar, and John Perker.

† Rot. litt. claus. 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 122, col. 2. William Raymond was one of the most important merchants supplying the King with wine; in 1224, one of his ships was kept in England for the King's service, when he received

£32 10s. as compensation (Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 94, col. 2).

‡ Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 622, col. 2. Merchants of Toulouse had been granted the privilege to bring corn and wine freely into England by an ordinance of April 27th, 1202, which was confirmed later on by Henry III. See Rot. pat., 38 Hen. III., pars I., m. 16; pars II., m. 13.

England, in 1224. The defence of Henry's continental dominions involved a considerable outlay of money, which resulted in financial difficulties and consequent arbitrary seizures of both vessels and cargoes. De Burgh took every possible measure to minimise the fateful consequences of the outbreak of war and to confine hostilities to the unfortunate provinces which the Kings of France and of England were desolating; he succeeded in avoiding a complete cessation of foreign commerce, always so disastrous to an island kingdom, which depends to a large extent on foreign supplies.

Although French merchants had been ordered to leave England before the month of November, 1226, instructions were issued at the same time to allow them to come with provisions. As early as the 5th of November, 1226, the bailiffs of all seaports were commanded to allow French ships laden with wine, corn and provisions to come to England in safety.\* The following year, in June, 1227, the King issued orders to all soldiers and masters of ships not to molest the subjects of the King of France on their homeward or outward journey to England.† But, besides measures of general protection to foreign traders, many safe-conducts and royal letters patent were given to wine merchants bringing their wines to England during the war. Those of Gascony had no need of such special licences, since they were subjects of the English Crown, but they were invaluable to the subjects of the King of France, who were not only allowed but repeatedly encouraged to bring French wines

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\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. I., p. 182.

† Rot. litt. pat. 10 Hen. III., m. 4.

to London, York, and elsewhere from Dieppe\* and Rouen.†

Englishmen were also given every safe conduct they might require to go in person or to send their servants for wine to Poitou,‡ Normandy, or Anjou.§

\* Ricardus Crassus habet licentiam ducendi hac vice vina sua de Depa usque London. 16 Nov. 1224. Rot. litt. pat. 9 Hen. III., m. 9.

† Dominus rex dedit licentiam Roberto de Gresteni, mercatori de Rotomago, quod salvo ducat navem suam carcatam vinis Andegavensibus usque Eboracum hac vice. Rot. litt. pat. 10 Hen. III., m. 8. Dominus rex licentiam dedit et concessit Martino de la Pomeraye, mercatori de Rothomago, quod Reginaldus de Eskelwill salvo et securo ducat navem suam in Angliam carcatam vinis ipsius Martini de Francia et de Aucerre ad negociandum inde, etc.

Robertus Marc de Argent, mercator de Rothomago, habet litteras patentes de licencia veniendi in Angliam cum duabus navibus vinis suis carcatas hac vice. 8 Dec., 1225. Rot. litt. pat. 10 Hen. III., m. 9. Similar licences to Galfridus de Sancto Phileberto, 17 Jan., 1226. Rot. litt. pat. 10 Hen. III., m. 8; and 21 Feb., 1226. Rot. litt. pat. 10 Hen. III., m. 7.

Thoraldus de Kivylly habet licentiam quod duci faciat in partes transmarinas duas nascellas ad vina et mercandias emenda, duraturam usque in unum annum a die Pasche. 11 Feb., 1226. Rot. litt. pat. 25 Jan., 10 Hen. III., m. 8. 25 Jan., 1226. Consimiles litteras habet idem Martinus; De nave quam Robertus Carite ducit in Angliam carcatam vinis ipsius Martini, de Francia et de Aucerre usque ad supra.

De nave quam Robertus, filius Thurstani ducit in Angliam carcatam vinis ejusdem Martini, de Francia et de Aucerre usque ad eundem terminum.

De nave quam Durandus Goel

ducit carcatam consimilibus vinis ejusdem Martini usque ad eundem terminum.

De nave quam Gilebertus Laurencii ducit etc. De nave quam Andoenus le Enfant ducit, etc. Rot. litt. pat. 10 H.n. III., m. 8.

Rex licentiam dedit et concessit quod Johannes Gace salvo et securo duci faciat in Angliam duas naves vino suo Andegavie et de Blanc carcatas. Et durant usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis (27 Jan. 1230). Rot. litt. pat. 14 Hen. III. m. 6.

Sciatis quod licentiam dedimus Petro de Sidal de Sancto Johanne quod vina sua, que sunt in nave Roberti de Porvill quam fretavit, hac vice duci faciat per potestatem nostram quo voluerit. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod hiis qui dictam navem ducent cum vinis predictis, nullum hac vice faciatis impedimentum, dampnum aut gravamen. (Twelve similar licences follow.) July 17th 1230. Rot. litt. pat. 14 Hen. III., m. 5.

‡ Dominus rex licentiam dedit quod navis quam Herbertus de Rya ducit carcatam vinis Pictavie, veniat in Angliam ad vendendum vina illa per costeram Anglie et per costeram Flandrie, et moretur, et redeat, usque ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, anno nono. Rot. litt. pat. 9 Hen. III., m. 6. Dominus rex licentiam dedit et concessit quod Willelmus Joinier libere et sine impedimento duci faciat hac vice usque London navem Johannis Baldre, quam idem Willelmus carcari fecit vinis apud Sanctum Sevanianum in Pictavia, non obstante precepto quod dominus rex fecit ne aliquis mercator eat usque Rupellam vel alibi in Pictavia pro vinis vel aliis mercandis inde deferendis.

Confiscations were ordered now and again, but the Justiciary always endeavoured to enforce the just execution of the law in every such case. When, for instance, William de Blaye and Peter de Setes arrived at Sandwich with wines in 1226, their cargo was confiscated on account of some money due by some other Bordeaux merchants with whom the two former had nothing whatever in common; the injustice of this proceeding being brought before the Royal Council, an order was granted in favour of the claimants who received back their wine on condition, however, that they should bring it to London.\*

The bulk of the wines imported in England during those troubled years came from Gascony, the only English possession left in France to Henry III. at the beginning of his reign. This Prince was therefore anxious to develop the wine industry of this province, not only in order to strengthen the loyalty of its inhabitants by bonds of interests, but also to avoid a shortage of the supply of wine in England and the consequent abnormal rise in the price of this commodity.

The merchants of Bordeaux, jealous of their privileges, and wishing probably to obtain a monopoly of the export trade in wines similar to that enjoyed by the citizens of Rouen in the preceding

10 June, 1226. Rot. litt. pat.  
10 Hen. III., m. 4.

§ Dominus rex licentiam dedit et concessit quod Walterus de Acastre, serviens Hugonis de Seleby, majoris Eboraci, libere et sine impedimento ducat in Angliam usque Eboracum unam navem carcatam vino Andegavensi. Et mandatum est omnibus ballivis, etc. Rot. litt. pat. 10 Hen. III., m. 8. Ricardus Renger, civis

Londoniensis, habet licentiam quod navis Dionisii filii Willelmi de Dunewico salvo eat usque Andegaviane pro vinis Andegavensibus ad opus predicti Ricardi, et ibidem moretur et inde recedat, per totam potestatem regis cum vinis predictis etc. (25 Dec., 1230). Rot. litt. pat. 15 Hen. III., m. 5.

\* Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 167, col. 2.

century, had always hampered the trade of those who wished to export the wine they either made or bought in the interior of the province. Recognising the injustice of the claim of the citizens of Bordeaux to exercise practically a monopoly of the export trade of Gascony, De Burgh caused a royal order to be sent there in 1225 granting full license to some merchants of Chaureis to bring their wines to Bordeaux from the interior, by way of the Gironde, paying the usual tolls, and ordering the mayor and men of Bordeaux to place no obstacle whatsoever in their way.\*

Four years later, in 1229, H. de Trumbleville, Seneschal of Gascony, obtained from the King a remission of half the duty levied on Gascon wine landed at Sandwich; injunctions were at the same time sent to all bailiffs at every English seaport and other towns to place no difficulty in the way of Gascons coming to England, but to treat them with great kindness. The men of Bayonne also participated in these favourable measures.†

\* W. de M., G. R. et W. de M., mercatores de Chaureis, habent licentiam quod salvo possint abducere de partibus superioribus civitatis Burdegale vina sua, descendendo per Gyrundam, et per civitatem Burdegale, faciendo rectas et debitas consuetudines. Et mandatum est majori et probis hominibus Burdegale, quod eis super hoc nullum faciant impedimentum aut gravamen (May 16th, 1225). Rot. litt. pat. 9 Hen. III., m. 4.

† Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III., m. 15. De binis denariis capiendis apud Sandwic' de singulis doliis vini. Rex majori et juratis et commune Burdegale, salutem. Sciatis quod ad instantiam dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum H. de Trumblevill', seneschalli nostri Wasconie, et Bernardi

deAcr'et Bonefacii Byger, concivium vestrorum, precepimus quod de singulis doliis vini venientibus ad portum de Sandwic', de quibus capi consueverunt quatuor denarii, decetero tantum duo capiantur. Injuximus etiam omnibus ballivis nostris, tam partium Marum quam aliarum, quod venientibus vobis in terram nostram nullum impedimentum vel gravamen inferant. Immo vos tanquam fidelissimos homines nostros quos merito habemus plurimum commendatos, custodiant et defendant et cum omni mansuetudine et benigntate tractent. Hoc igitur fidelitati vestri duximus significandum. (15 February, 1229.) A similar letter was sent to the mayor and people of Bayonne.



The numerous entries referring to gifts, purchases, deliveries, and seizures of wine in London and the most important ports and cities in England from 1227 till 1234, which are to be found in the Close Rolls, prove abundantly that the Gascons and other continental wine merchants availed themselves of the good disposition of the young King and his advisers towards them.\*

The native vintners were also made to participate in the royal favour, and their demands were often granted. Thus, in 1229, the vintners of Wallingford asked and obtained the permission to sell wine at 10d. the sextercium instead of 6d., the assize price.† In the same year, a similar privilege had been granted to the vintners of Oxford, who were allowed to sell wine at 10d. the sextercium and, during the following three years, to charge as much as 1s.‡

The King of France possessed no redoubtable navy capable of intercepting the maritime commerce which continued to be very active between Gascony and England during the war, but the numerous privateers, from Normandy, Flanders, or Spain, whom the French monarch had fully authorised to do all the harm they could to English shipping, constituted a real danger, which called for prudence and concerted action on the part of the English and Gascon merchantmen.

\* See in the Appendix to this chapter numerous texts given in proof of this statement.

† Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III., m. 7. Rex concessit viniteribus Waling' quod sextercium vini vendatur in villa Waling' pro x denariis, donec rex aliud inde preceperit. Et mandatum est vicecomiti Berk' quod

hanc assisam vini clamari faciat et ibidem teneri, sicut predictum est.

‡ Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III., m. 17d. 10th January, 1229; 14 Hen. III., m. 16d. 5th March, 1230; 15 Hen. III., m. 21d. and m. 9d. 23rd November, 1230, and 12th July, 1231; 16 Hen. III., m. 13d. and m. 10d. 20th March and 23rd May, 1232.

In January, 1225, the King's fleet—that is the few royal galleys and vessels together with the large merchant ships which had been impressed for service during the war—were assembled at Portsmouth; merchants and nobles going to Gascony with their own ships\* had also come to Portsmouth, as the voyage, in time of open war between the two countries, was too dangerous to be undertaken by isolated vessels.

In March, the Gascony ships were still in Portsmouth harbour, owing probably to fears that they were not numerically strong enough to venture on the journey, since “all the great merchant ships”—*omnes naves mercatorias magnas*—were sent from Shoreham to Portsmouth.† Thus reinforced they started for Bordeaux with arms and provisions for carrying the war into the southern dominions of the French King. The Earl of Salisbury alone had been assigned seven ships of this fleet for the conveyance of his horses and equipage to Gascony.‡

The fleet arrived safely at Bordeaux, where it was joined by the King's great ship the “Cardinal,” captured some years previously from the Portuguese; it was in the keeping of Friar Thomas, of the Temple, at La Rochelle. The Friar had been given letters of safe conduct to go to Bordeaux with this, the King's great ship, to bring over to England 200 casks of Gascon wine for the use of

\* The King ordered that such of the Barons of the Cinque Ports who were at Portsmouth intending to go to Gascony for wine should select the best and safest ship of the whole royal fleet—*de tota flotta nostra*—for the purpose of conveying

armour and baggage to Richard, the King's brother, in that province Rot. pat., 9 Hen. III., m. 2.

† Rot. litt. claus., 9 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 23.

‡ Rot., litt. claus. 9 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 21.

Henry III.,\* and later to take it wheresoever he should be directed.†

When, later on in 1225, the Gascon merchants came back to England with wine, the King had given an order to impress all ships for his service ; so that when Vidau, of Bordeaux, arrived at Southampton with a cargo of wine, the bailiffs immediately took possession of his ship and cargo. Pierre Arnaud, who was bringing to England the wines of Arnaud de Duras, of Bordeaux, and others, had a similar fate.‡ In the case of Vidau, however, permission was subsequently granted to him to proceed with his wines to Sandwich,§ where they were probably more urgently needed than at Southampton, and where there is every reason to believe that both ship and cargo were equally taken possession of in the King's name.

The King found it very convenient to supply thus his different sea-ports with vessels and wine at short notice, and the intentions of the owners themselves seem to have been utterly disregarded. Six ships coming back from Gascony, for instance, were seized by the barons of the Cinque Ports and taken to Winchelsea ; the owners petition the King,

\* Rot. litt. pat., 9 Hen. III., m. 3.

† Rot. litt. pat., 9 Hen. III., m. 7. The commercial use made of one of the King's own ships is no less remarkable than the fact of a Friar of the Temple having charge of her. The Master and Friars of this Order in England had the royal licence to have their Rochelle wines sent over to them from thence for their own use. Friars of this Order were also allowed to bring into England their wines themselves. Magister et fratres mil'ie Templi

in Anglia habent licenciam quod venire facient vina sua de Rupellia in Angliam ad promotionem domus sue, faciendo, etc. Ita tamen quod aliquis de fratribus ejusdem Templi veniat in Angliam cum eisdem viniis ad testificandum quod sua fuerint (1st Jan., 1227). Rot. litt. pat., 11 Hen. III., m. 9. Similar protection granted on July 27th, 1228. Rot. litt. pat., 12 Hen. III., m. 3.

‡ Rot. litt. claus. 9 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 20, col. 2. Cf. p. 88, col. 1.

§ *Idem*, p. 14, col. 1.

show their safe-conducts, and at last a release is ordered, and they leave Winchelsea, but they were not allowed to go where they intended, where their wines were expected, and where they knew they could sell them ; they had to proceed, one to London, another to Lynn, others to Hull or Sandwich, and nowhere else.\* That their ships were kept in each of these ports for the King's service is most probable, but they were perhaps allowed to sell their wine as best they could. This was usually permitted† as, otherwise, the Gascon wine trade must inevitably have been ruined in a very short time, and the King had every interest to avoid such a result.

Henry had attained his legal majority in 1227, and it was not long before he quarrelled with his ablest minister, De Burgh. The Count of Toulouse, the Duke of Brittany, and the discontented French nobles urged him to distinguish himself by regaining some of his continental dominions. The young King would not listen to the more patriotic and altogether wiser De Burgh, who could only retard the expedition until 1230, when the monarch sailed for Poitou ; he came back the same year without having distinguished himself either in battle or in diplomacy. In 1231, peace was signed between France and England and in the following year Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciary and the Protector of England, was cast into prison, chiefly at the

\* Rot. litt. claus. 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 158, col. 2.

† The ship of Conrad de Bolle, with a cargo of Bordeaux wines, had been seized in the King's name and taken into Sandwich. Henry III. ordered that the master should be allowed to proceed to London, Lynn, or Yarmouth, provided he

pledged himself not to go anywhere else, and without prejudice to the wines taken or to be taken for the King or his Castle of Dover ; this implies naturally that the owner was left free to dispose of his cargo after the King had been served. Rot. litt. claus. 8 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 620, col. 1.

instigation of Des Roches, Henry's evil genius, who now became his favourite and adviser. The misgovernment of England during the fateful years which followed led to riots and civil war that paralyzed to a great extent the foreign and internal commerce of the nation.

Wine continued, nevertheless, to be imported, and there are frequent records in the Close Rolls showing that, although he sometimes experienced some difficulty in obtaining his necessary supplies, the King was able to procure some wine at London, Bristol, Southampton, Sandwich, Lynn, and Boston for his army and his castles of Worcester, Shrewsbury, Porchester, York, Bridgenorth, Gloucester, Hereford, Winchester, Guildford, Walsingham, etc.\*

Arbitrary seizures of ships and their cargo had, however, become so numerous and trade so little profitable that many of the Bordeaux merchants ceased to bring to England their wines, and the insecurity of the trader must have been great when even John of Lascy, Constable of Chester, had to obtain from the King, in 1229, a special safe conduct and the royal protection for some of his wines being brought by one Radulph Isembard.†

The price of wine rose rapidly on account of its scarcity and the vintners of Hereford, amongst others, paid 40s. to the Exchequer to be allowed to

\* See the text of numerous entries in the Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III. in the Appendix to this Chapter.

† Sciatis quod vina dilecti et fidelis nostri Johannis de Lascy, constabularii Cestrie, que sunt in navi Radulfi Isembard, carienda usque Cnottingele suscepimus in

salvum conductum nostrum usque ad locum prædictum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eis qui vina prædicta cariabunt, nullum faciatis impedimentum aut gravamen; et si quid eis fuerit forisfactum, id eis faciatis emendari (13 Feb., 1229). Rot. litt. pat. 13 Hen. III., m. 10.

sell the gallon of wine at 10d., contrary to the assize, in 1228.\*

It was not until after the downfall of Peter des Roches, in 1234, that the wine trade regained some of its former importance. The King governed for some time without a minister, and he tried to reassure traders both at home and abroad, by granting them charters, assuring them of his royal protection, and promising them greater freedom as well as greater security of commerce.

The citizens of Cologne were given a charter in November, 1235, allowing them to trade in all safety in England,† and, the following year, the King gave his assent to an agreement between the citizens of London and the merchants of Amiens, Corbie, and Nesle to load and unload their goods in London.‡

Henry had also to send supplies of wine to almost every one of his houses and castles from the nearest ports to such places, as the royal cellars had not been replenished for the last few years. From Southampton, for instance, wine was sent to the monarch at Winchester, Beaulieu, Christchurch, Brumore, Clarendon, and Woodstock;§ Devonshire

\* *Vinetarii de Hereford r. c. de xl s. Pro habenda concessione Regis, quod sextercium vini vendatur pro x d. in Hereford, a festo. S. Petri ad vincula anno xlii. usque in unum annum. Mag. Rot. 14 Hen. III. Tit. Hereford in Wallia. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 289.*

† This charter was confirmed by Edward I. in 1290. See *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis. Liber Custumarum, Vol. II., part I., p. 67.*

‡ *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis, Liber Custumarum, Vol. II. part I., p. 64.*

§ Et in cariagio viij doliorum

vini de prisâ Regis usque Wintoniam, x s. et ix d. per breve Regis; et in cariagio vinorum Regis tam de prisâ quam de empto, scilicet unius dolij de prisâ usque. Bellum locum, et unius dolii de prisâ usque. Critescherche, et unius dolii de empto usque. Brumore, et trium de empto usque. Clarendon, viij s. viii d. et ob., per breve Regis; et in cariagio iij doliorum vini, quæ Baillivi Suthamptoniæ Regi dederunt, usque. Wudestok xv s. vi d. et ob. per breve Regis. Mag. rot., 19 Hen. III., in compoto de villa Sudhamtoniæ. m. l b. Madox, p. 527.

was similarly supplied with wine from Exeter; Gloucestershire and Somerset from Bristol; Cheshire and Lancashire from Chester; Yorkshire chiefly from Hull; and East Anglia from Lynn.

In 1236, Henry married the daughter of Count Raymond Berenger of Provence and from that moment the Court was in the hands of the Queen's relatives. The lavish support of foreigners by the King naturally caused great discontent in England and was repeatedly the subject of complaints in the Great Council. A national party was formed in opposition to the policy of the sovereign, and it found an able and patriotic leader in Simon de Montfort. The personal government of the King grew continually worse, and his habit of unduly procrastinating the payment of his debts, in an age when the royal example had such far-reaching effects, paralysed the commerce of the nation. Travelling merchants, especially foreigners, were plundered occasionally, and little heed was taken of their losses. Matthew Paris tells a characteristic story of the robbers of Alton, of how they made raids on the Flemish merchants who, landing their goods at Southampton, made their way through the Hampshire forests, and of how the chiefs of the offenders were at last discovered to be servants in the King's household, whose wages were indifferently paid, and who thereupon adopted the alternative of highway robbery in order to supplement the inadequacy of their resources.

It was useless for foreign merchants to bring wine to English ports if the insecurity of the roads prevented them from penetrating to the great inland towns and fairs where most of the trade of

the nation was carried on. The King was also continually moving from Winchester to London, Gloucester, or the North. Many merchants, as well as most of the great nobles, followed in the wake of the monarch, so that the security of the King's highway was of the greatest importance.

The disastrous attempt of Henry to regain Poitou in 1242 drained the country of much money whilst it provoked the King of France to order that all English merchants in his dominions should be arrested and their goods seized; this measure almost necessarily led to retaliation, and on the 20th September, 1242, commands were issued to the mayors of London, Bristol, and other places to arrest all French merchants, those from Flanders and those having the King's letters of protection excepted.\*

Driven out of Poitou after Taillebourg and Saintes, Henry had fallen back to the Garonne, where he accepted a peace which left him no other province but Gascony out of his vast hereditary possessions in France. Whilst in Gascony, the King of England devoted much attention to the wines of the 1242 vintage, which were both excellent and abundant. His purchases were considerable. He bought 302 casks of wine from Pierre and Arnaud Calhau alone, and he only paid £270 for this parcel, being at the rate of 17s. 10d. a cask.† He also bought 104 casks of Arnaud Calhau and Guilhem Chicaud,‡ as well as other sundry lots,

\* Rot. litt. claus., 26 Hen. III., pars. 2, m. 4.

† Fines, liberate et contrabrevia de Vasconia, 27 Hen. III., m. 13.

‡ Rot. Vasc., 27 Hen. III., m. 17.



which greatly exceeded the usual requirements of the royal household.

On the 21st January, 1243, a cog which had been captured at sea by Henry Pitchrope, was directed to be manned and armed and sent to Gascony to convey to England some of the wines the King had bought\* from Bordeaux wine merchants, as well as from some of the great civil and ecclesiastical lords.

One hundred casks of wine which formed part of this cargo had been bought by the King from the Archbishop of Bordeaux, to whom the monarch acknowledged owing 1,110 marks 11 shillings and 4 pence sterling (£740 11s. 4d.).†

It may seem strange that such an exalted ecclesiastic should have been engaged in the sale of wine, but this was by no means unusual at the time. The Church was then in receipt of many tithes paid, for the most part, in kind, chiefly wine, which was always a saleable article. Many monasteries and churches being also large landowners, the quantity of wine they gathered every year in their own vineyards as well as what was brought in by their tenants must have been considerable, and Bordeaux being the largest mart for the sale and export of wines, many Gascon Bishops sent their wines thither. In 1254 the Bishop of Agen sent there 300 casks of wine, and he obtained from Henry III. a total remission of all river tolls and dock dues payable on the Garonne.‡

It was not only the clergy, but the King of England himself, who did not scruple to trade in

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\* Rot. Vasc., 27 and 28 Hen. III., m. 11.

† Rot. Vasc., 26 Hen. III., m. 2.

‡ Rot. pat., 38 Hen. III., m. 17.

wines. The monarch proved to be a redoubtable competitor of the Bordeaux wine merchants. Not satisfied with his many royal privileges, such as fixing more or less his own price, paying at his pleasure and often by simply granting to his creditors the proceeds of certain local taxes, and having often no freight to pay, Henry III. was carried by his mercantile spirit to use a most unfair device to make certain of selling at once, in England, the wines he had bought in Bordeaux. He sent orders to all the bailiffs and viscounts at the English ports not to allow any wines to be sold before his, the King's, which were being brought over by Wibert de Kent; \* later on, a similar advice was despatched to announce the arrival of 170 tuns in a ship chartered by the King who had agreed to pay the master eight shillings for freight if he arrived safely at Southampton or nine shillings if he went as far as Sandwich.† Although there was, in this instance, some freight paid, or, at any rate, due by the King for bringing his wines to England, the rate and the method of payment were both arbitrary and such as ordinary merchants could not have obtained.

The dealings of the monarch were on a sufficiently important scale to enable him to order, in one instance, that the first £100 received by Robert de Dacre from the sale of the royal wines should be sent to Simon de Montfort, the Governor of Gascony, to be devoted to the fortifications and defence of this province;‡

\* Rot Vasc. 27 Hen. III., m. 14 and 18.

† Rot. Patent. et Chart., 27 Hen. III., m. 18.

‡ Rex Roberto de Dacre, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de primis denariis quos recepturi estis de venditione vinorum nostrorum per Angliam habere faciatis Radulfo de Havering senescallo Simonis de Monte Forti, comitis Leicestræ,

centum libras, deferendas prædicto comiti in Wasconiam, ad firmandum inde terram Wasconie et ad tuitionem et defensionem ejusdem terræ. 27th Dec., 1249. Royal and other historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III., from the originals in the Public Record Office, selected and edited by the Rev. Walter Waddington Shipley. Letter cccclix. Vol. II., p. 56.

on a previous occasion, £75 was paid by John de Colemere out of the proceeds of the sale of the King's wines, for the purchase of sundry parcels of Gascony and new French wines sent to the royal cellars at Westminster, Windsor, Kensington, Clarendon, and Guildford.\*

The King's purchases of wine were, however, far more considerable than his sales, particularly so in 1243 and after, when the wines of the exceptionally fine vintage of 1242 were shipped.

The royal cellars in different parts of the country were abundantly supplied with this vintage, as appears from the accounts of William de Haverhull to the Exchequer. There were only 105 casks of wine sold by the King for £182 8s., at the rate of about 34s. 9d. per cask, leaving thus a very fair profit, since the whole of that wine came from the *recta prisa*; on the other hand, there were no less than 1,445 casks of different wines bought for the royal cellars at the following various rates: Four hundred and four casks of French, Gascon, and Anjou wine, of probably inferior quality, at 20s. per cask; twenty-two casks of wines of St. John and *de Oblinquo*,† at 26s. 8d. per cask; twenty casks of new or sweet French wine (*musti Gallici*), at 30s. per cask; and 999 casks of Gascon, French, Anjou, St. John, and *Obliqui* wines, of evidently the best quality, at 37s. per cask. The cost of those purchases amounted to £2,310 2s. 8d., to which must be added £54 3s. 4d. for forwarding and warehousing expenses.‡

\* Rot. litt. pat., 15 Hen. III., m. 6.  
See Appendix to this chapter.

† Moselle wine.

‡ Compotus Willelmi de Haverhull de Cameraria Londoniæ et Sandwici, a xxiii die Julii anno xxvii usq. ad eundem diem anno

These quantities appear all the more huge if one remembers that they only represent the royal purchases at London and Sandwich. At many other ports, especially on the south and east coasts, the activity of the wine trade was also very great, as is evidenced by the following fact: a duty of 2s. was imposed, in June, 1244, on every ship carrying eighty tuns of wine or more that entered the port of Winchelsea, in order to raise a sum of money sufficient to build a new quay at that port, and the number of large trading vessels arriving there with wine must have been very great, since this tax was only applied during one year, being removed in 1245.\*

xxx°, scilicet per tres annos integros. Idem W. reddit computum de M et Deccclxxviii l. xv s. iiii d. receptis de thesauro Regis in pluribus particulis per diversa brevia Regis reposita in thesauro per prædictum tempus; Et de C et Lxxxii l. viii s. de C et V doliis vini de prisâ Regis, venditis tam apud Londoniam quam Sandwicum: Summa MM et clvii l. iii s. iiii d. In thesauro xxxvi l. et x s. Et in aquietando cccc et iiii doliâ vini Gallici, Wascon [iæ] et And [egaviæ] scilicet precium dolii xx s. apud Londoniam et Sandwicum, cccc et iiii l. Et in aquietando xxii doliâ de vino S. Johannis et de Oblinquo, scilicet precium dolii ii marcas, xxix l. et dimidiam marcam, de quibus doliis respondet infra. Et pro xx doliis musti Gallici, xxx l. Et pro dedxcix doliis vini Gasconia, And [egaviæ] et Gallic[i], et Oblinqui, de S. Johanne, diversimodo emptis per prædictum tempus, de quibus respondet infra; quorum empcionis particula et precia continentur in rotulo quem liberavit in thesauro, M et deccclvi l. xvi d. Et pro reponendis in celario Regis apud Westmonasterium lxxv doliis vini, et eis barrandis, circu-

landis, lxi s. Et in c et v doliis vini discarcandis et hospitandis, barrandis, circulantibus, domibus conductis apud Sandwicum, conductione batallorum portancium Camerarium ad naves per prædictum tempus, xlvii s. xi d. Et in cariendo xxii doliâ vini de prisâ a Sandwico usq. Londoniam, xxii s. Et in vino empto ad Aulecagium apud Sandwicum xxiii s. Et exploratori vinorum venientium at portum de Sandwico per prædictum tempus, dimidiam marcam. Et eidem W. pro custodia Camerariae Londoniæ et Sandwici per prædictum tempus, xxx l. sicut continetur in Rotulo xxvi in compoto ejusdem. Et in cariendo cccxii doliâ vini per diversa loca, et in eisdem, cerclandis, barrandis, et eorum custodia, xv l. xviii s. ix d. per breve Regis, sicut continetur in eodem brevi, Et habet de superplusagio cccxi l. xix s., De quibus, cc et xli l. xviii s., debentur mercatoribus pro vinis, quorum nomina liberavit in thesauro; et restant de superplusagio xxi s.

Mag. rot., 29 Hen. III., Rot. ult. m. 1a. Madox, History of the Exchequer, pp. 527, 528.

\* Rot. litt., pat. 28 and 29 Hen. III.

In the following year, imports were again very considerable as appears from the *recta prisa* accounted for by Benet Ace and Richard del Prise.\*

The lull which followed during the next few years may be attributed to short or defective vintages, but, after a favourable season experienced in 1250, imports and purchases by the King regained immediately their former importance. In 1251, 207 casks of wine of the *recta prisa* were taken for the King by Ernald Geraudon, at London and Sandwich alone, from All Saints until the following Easter,† a period of only five months.

In Scotland, Alexander III. was exhibiting a remarkable appreciation of the red wines of France at the same time, and Henry III. granted licences to a citizen of Perth to import 100 casks, and to a merchant of Montauban to bring over 400 casks of wine to Scotland for Alexander.‡

In the following year, J. de Gisors paid £108 3s. 4d. for sixty-seven casks of wine he bought for the royal household, at the rate of 30s., 32s. and 33s. 4d. per cask, according to quality.§

\* Mag. Rot. 30 Hen. III. tit. residuum Suthampt. post Berk. m. 2 b. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 528.

† Royal and other historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III., etc., Vol. II., p. 95. No. CCCXCV. All the wines mentioned in this account did not come from the *recta prisa*, some had been purchased but the total cost of the two hundred and seven casks amounted only to £273, or an average of about twenty-six shillings and fourpence per cask.

‡ Pat. litt. fact. in Vasc., 37 Hen. III., m. 3. and m. 5. Alexander III. owed no less than two thousand pounds to a certain merchant of

Gascony. Cosmo Innes. *Scotland in the Middle Ages*. Edinburgh, 1860, p. 233.

§ Royal and other historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III., etc., Vol. II., p. 100, No. CCCC XCVIII.

Noverit discretio vestra me cepisse per præceptum domini regis ad festum S. Edwardi proximo præteriti (*sic*) tot dolia vini subscripta ; scilicet de quodam Gasconico nomine Pelerino decem dolia, quodlibet dolium pro triginta et duobus solidis. Item de Petro de Bourg quinque d. quodl. d. pro triginta s. Item de Petro de Perg decem d. quodl. pro duabus marcis et dimidia. Item de Bernardo de Puteo sedecim d. q.

A few years later, John de Swineford accounted for 125 casks of the *recta prisa* received at Southampton, 110 casks, also of the *recta prisa*, received at Boston, 56 casks purchased at Southampton, and 10 at Boston, in all 301 casks. Of these, 172 casks were sold, and the remaining 130 (*sic*) were accounted for, together with 490 casks of wine remaining on hand, after the closing of the last accounts; there were only 403 used for the royal household or given by the King, and 217 were carried forward, as being still in hand, for the next account.\*

The perpetual want of money at the Royal Exchequer, which characterised the greater part of the reign of Henry III., had induced this monarch to take up the part of a wine merchant and sell his wines; his penury must have been great, since he had to stoop to so despicable a device as ordering his Chancellor to *borrow* wines and other goods at Bordeaux, and to sell them at whatever price he could obtain, even at half their usual value, in order to obtain some ready money.† Such practices were destined to ruin the royal credit, and it is a very significant fact that a merchant of Bordeaux, Gerard du Bosc, who sold 20 casks of wine for the use of the royal household, should have specified

pro trig. s. Item de familia de Bertrami de Palacio tredecim dolia, q. pro duabus marcis et dimidiam. Item de Petro de Cermez septem dolia, quodlibet dolium pro duabus marcis et dimidiam. Item de Ernaldo de Gaylac sex dolia, q. pro tringinta solidis. Summa doliorum per totum octo et sexaginta dolia. Summa custi centum et octo libras et tres solidos quatuor denarios et septem denarios ad Deum. Hinc est quod vestram precor discretionem quatenus liberatum de vinis istis erectum (*sic*) domino Philippo

Lovell, thesaurario domi regis, mihi per latorem presentium trans-mittere velitis, ut illa summa pecuniæ eisdem mercatoribus paccetur, quia dominus thesaurarius aliquid inde facere non proponit, nisi liberatum inde possideat. Et si quid erga me velitis, si placet jubeatis, quod diligenter perducerem ad affectum. Valet in Domino.

\* Mag. Rot. 49 Hen. III. in Rot. Compotorum m. 2a. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 528.

† Claus. litt. fact. in Vasconia, 37 Hen. III. m. 11.

that it was purchased by the *Queen* for seventy marks\* (£46 13s. 4d.). The cost of this wine, 46s. 8d. per cask, was very high for the time, and included probably an extended credit.

The undue procrastination of the King to pay for the wines purchased on his account, and the ever more numerous exactions suffered by Gascon merchants in England, caused great dissatisfaction at Bordeaux. Under pretence of misdescription, or short measure, or even without any pretext whatsoever, their wines or their ships were seized in the name of the King. On their return to Gascony these merchants complained bitterly of the losses they had suffered at the hands of the royal officers; they abandoned, and caused many of their compatriots to abandon, any further attempts to trade in England. The barons and clergy of Aquitaine, who were large landowners and relied on the sale of their wines in England as their chief source of revenue, were consequently unable to dispose of them amongst Bordeaux merchants who were wont to ship them and to undertake their sale abroad. Henry was held responsible by the influential citizens and the landed gentry for the state of panic the trade of Gascony had been thrown into, and their goodwill to the Crown of England was thereby greatly alienated.†

The discontent in Gascony was general, and the province was plunged in utter confusion by the insurrections of Gaston de Bearn and assaults from the King of Navarre, when Simon de Montfort, appointed governor in 1248, succeeded in capturing Gaston and restoring order.

\* Issues of the Exchequer, etc., publ., by Frederick Devon, 1837, p. 41 (42 Hen. III.).

† Matth. Paris. *Historia Major*. 1253. Ed. London, 1640, p. 860

In England, matters grew still worse. Poitevin nobles came over in large numbers and were at once received with favour and honoured with profused gifts. The King's revenue, squandered in empty magnificence and lavish grants to his foreign friends and the Queen's relations, became more and more dilapidated, taxes were becoming heavier and aid more frequent ; all the cities, more especially London, were forced to pay excessive tallages. The King's constant demands for money, and the dishonest means he had taken to secure it, had done more to lower him in the eyes of his people than his ill success abroad. The terrible famine and the sufferings of the year 1257 filled the measure ; the Mad Parliament led by Simon de Montfort met in 1258, the King's favourites were exiled, and the provisions of Oxford were solemnly proclaimed. The King could not bear to submit to the domination of the Barons, in whose hands the actual government of the country rested ; as these were far from being united, discontent and disorder were general, and culminated in 1264 by an appeal to arms.

A few days after the battle of Lewes had placed the royal authority in the hands of the Earl of Leicester, he appointed his eldest son, Henry de Montfort, keeper of the Cinque Ports. The vessels belonging to those ports soon afterwards committed great depredations, with, it is supposed, the sanction, if not by the command, of Montfort. Having fitted out numerous piratical vessels,\* they scoured the sea in all directions, took possession of all ships they met, as well English as foreign, and murdered their crews and passengers : " more cruel than

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\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, I., p. 441.



Scylla or Charybdis," says the continuator of Matthew Paris, "for they slaughtered the merchants who were accustomed to bring commodities to England, without distinction of persons."

The lawless proceedings of the Cinque Ports enhanced the price of all foreign goods, and especially of wine, the price of which was raised from 40s. to 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) per tun.\*

But matters grew still worse, and all commerce became paralysed when Prince Edward had made his escape good; the Royalists rallied round him, and civil war desolated the country until De Montfort was slain and Kenilworth surrendered.

Far from trying to improve the commercial relations between England and the Continent, Prince Edward, on his assumption of authority, in 1266, issued an order forbidding all foreign merchants coming from over-sea to trade in England without a special licence † granted by himself, for which money was naturally demanded.

The royal revenue from Gascony had dwindled so much owing to the disturbed state of that province and the difficulties of getting moneys shipped to England, that, on the receipt of an advantageous

\* *Quamobrem venalium, quibus Anglia præ cæteris regionibus abundare consueverat, copia sic defecit, ut vina quæ per xl solidos antea vendebantur, per x marcas libentissime venderentur; cara quæ similiter xl solidos excedere non solebat, viii marcas et amplius tunc valebat; etc. A.D. 1264.*

"Whereas those goods which used to be more abundant in England than anywhere else, became so scarce that wines which used to be sold for forty shillings formerly, fetched very easily ten marks

(£6 13s. 4d.), and wax which, in the same way, never used to exceed forty shillings, cost then eight marks and more."

This dearth of both wines and wax is attributed to the confirmation of the Provisions of Oxford. *Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, A.D. 1066-1280, Edited by Henry Richard Luard, M.A., in Annales Monastici, T. IV., p. 158.*

† Rot. Pat. 50 Hen. III. m. 22. Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. I., p. 468.

offer, the young Prince was allowed to mortgage, alienate, and otherwise raise money from the royal fees, great and small, due in Bordeaux.\*

During the last few years of the nominal reign of Henry III., better order prevailed throughout the realm, and the wine trade at once regained its former activity. In the last year of this reign, a new custom of one penny per tun of wine imported was imposed under the name of Gauge. From Martinmas, 1272, to Michaelmas, 1273, the sum collected from this duty at the ports of London, Southampton, Portsmouth and Sandwich was £36 17s. 2d., so that the total number of tuns imported at these four ports alone,† and during these ten months only, amounted to 8,846, besides those taken by the King as Prisa, which were not subject to the gauge.

Of these, forty-three casks which had been received in London were sold for £100 6s. 8d., at 46s. 8d. per cask, and fifty-one casks received at Southampton were sold for £106 3s. 4d., at the rate of 41s. 7½d. per cask, whilst eighty-nine casks, also from the King's prisage, received at Boston, were sold for £198, at the rate of 44s. 6d. per cask.‡

\* *Ibid.* 54 Hen. III. m. 19. Rymer, Vol. I. p. 485.

† The number of casks landed in London was 3,799, at Southampton and Portsmouth 3,147, and at Sandwich 1,900.

‡ *Computus Poncii de Mora et Gregorii de Rokele de Cameraria Londoniæ, et de Prisa vinorum Regis apud Suthamtoniam et S. Botulphum, et de quadam consuetudine quæ vocatur Gauge, a die Mercurii proxima post festum S. Martini anno R.R. Hen. 57. incipiente, usq. ad festum S. Edmundi Regis, antequam idem Rex moreretur, et ab eodem festo usq. ad festum S. Michaelis anno Regni*

*Regis Ed. primo. Idem r.c. de Cl. vj s. et viij d. de xliij doliis vini de recta prisa Regis apud Londoniam, venditis per idem tempus, et de C et vi. l. iii s. et iiij d. de Lj doliis de recta prisa Regis apud Suthamtoniam venditis per idem tempus. Et de Cquater xx xvij l. (198) de quater xx et ix (89) doliis vini de recta prisa Regis apud S. Botulphum venditis per idem tempus. Et de xv l. xvi s. et vii d. de quadam Novam consuetudine quæ vocatur Gauge. videlicet de quolibet dolio j d. de vinis venientibus Londoniam, præter de dol. de recta prisa de quibus nichil capit, Et de xlii l. ij s. iiij d. de eadem consuetudine*

Henry III. was the first English monarch to appoint a special officer whose duty it was to collect and dispatch the King's wines from Gascony; Elye de Blaye, who held this office in 1253, is styled in official documents "Collector vinorum Regis Burdigale."\* Following their Sovereign's example, some of the great lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, had a trusted servant in Bordeaux whose business it was to buy their own wines, on the spot, instead of purchasing them in England. A safe-conduct was thus given to Bernard le Gros, who was going to Gascony as "mercator" or "buyer" of the Bishop of Worcester.†

The most important wine merchants who had settled in London did not care to undertake the journey to Gascony themselves, and they, likewise, sent their buyers to Bordeaux to bring over the wines which they retailed in England; such was Pierre Calhau, whose name occurs frequently in sales made to Henry III., and who sent his "clerk," Matthew Mercer, to fetch thirty casks of wine of Bergerac, in 1253.‡

The government of Henry III. was too often interfered with by Papal legates and ecclesiastical affairs altogether, and although such matters do not bear any relation to the wine trade, its history during the long reign of this monarch may well be brought to a close with an original anecdote relating to Grossetête, the learned and popular Bishop of

apud Suthamtoniam et Portesmouth per idem tempus. Et de vii l. xvii s. et iiij d. de eadem consuetudine apud Sandwicum per idem tempus, etc. Mag. Rot. 1 Ed. I. in 1°. Rot. Compotor. m. 1 b. *Mador*, p. 528.

\* Claus. litt. fact. in Vasc. 37 H. III. m. 17.

† Rot. Vasc. 39 Hen. III., m. 12.

‡ Rot. pat. et chart. in Vasc. 37-38 Hen. III., pars. II. m. 14.

Lincoln. The worthy prelate, who was a special friend of the Franciscans, enjoined on a certain melancholy friar of this order that he should drink a cupful of the best wine, for penance, and when he had drunk it up, though most unwillingly, he said to him: "Dearest brother, if you had frequently such penance, you would certainly have a better ordered conscience."\*

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CLOSE ROLLS FOR THE YEARS 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234.

*Close Rolls, 12 Hen. III. m. 15 (18th November, 1227).—*Mandatum est majori de Len' quod de vinis Willelmi Juvenis et aliorum mercatorum qui vina habent in villa de Len', habere faciat Johanni de Cunde xxv dolia vini ad opus domini regis et unam navem ad vina illa ducenda usque Eboracum contra festum Natale Domini; et precium vinorum illorum et navis conducende sub sigillo suo Domino regi significet apud Lond' in octabas Sancti Hillarii per prefatum Willelmum vel per aliquem alium a quo vina illa empta fuerint, et dominus rex denarios illos reddi faciet hiis quibus debite fuerint.

*Close Rolls, 12 Hen. III. m. 14 (28th December, 1227).—*Rex W. de Fortibus, comiti Albemarle, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod, sicut alias viva voce vobis injuximus, habere faciatis Willelmo Burgelay xxi dolia vini que sua sunt de vinis, que penes vos habetis de vinis inventis in navi depredata apud Hulm', ad faciendum inde quod voluerit.

*Close Rolls, 12 Hen. III. m. 13 (10th February, 1228).—*Mandatum est constabulario Glouc' quod de xxx doliis v ni

\* The truth of this anecdote is vouched for by Thomas of Eccleston, one of the early Grey Friars, or Franciscans, in his chronicle of this order. This chronicle says that St. Francis himself, though he laid down a rule of strict self-denial,

allowed his followers to eat and drink as they pleased, saying that the body was made for the soul, and ought to be allowed no cause to complain that its wants were unattended to.

que dominus rex cariari precepit usque Glouc' et liberari ibidem ad opus domini regis habere faciat Henrico de Aldithel' x dolia carianda usque Salopiam contra adventum domini regis ad partes illas.

*Close Rolls, 12 Hen. III. m. 12; and 13 Hen. III. m. 18 (22nd February, 1228).*—Mandatum est constabulario Turris Lond' quod de vinis domini regis que sunt in custodia sua de prisca domini regis, faciat habere Willelmo de Haverell' et Rusello de Sancto Maxencio x dolia vini carianda usque Westmonasterium ad opus domini regis, videlicet ix dolia vini Wasconie et unum dolium vini Andegavie.

*Close Rolls, 12 Hen. III. m. 4 (17th August, 1228).*—Rex Willelmo Anglico nuncio ballivorum Bristoll' salutem. Precipimus tibi quod de xx doliis vini que emi precepimus apud Bristoll' et cariari usque Wygorniam, liberari facias ibidem hominibus Henrici de Aldithel' xv dolia vini carianda usque Salopiam ad opus nostrum, et v dolia vini liberari facias ballivis nostris Wigornie ponenda in celario episcopi Wigorniensis ibidem, ad opus nostrum.—Et mandatum est ejusdem Henrico de Aldithel' quod de illis xv doliis vini, cariari faciat iii dolia vini usque Muntgomery, et xi dolia salvo reponi faciat in castro Salopie ad opus domini regis.—Et mandatum est ballivis Wigornie quod predicta v dolia vini de predictis xx doliis que rex emi precepit apud Bristoll' et cariari usque Wigorniam, et que Willelmus Anglicus eis liberabit per preceptum domini regis, recipiant et salvo reponi faciant in celario episcopi Wigorniensis ad opus regis.

*Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III. m. 19 (25th November, 1228).*—Mandatum est ballivis W. comitis Marescalli d. Averford quod, non obstante arestatione quam Savaricus de Malo Leon fecit de navi Thome Gundewin', sicut fuit in veniendo versus partes de Averford, sine dilatione habere faciant civibus Burdegale vina sua que habent in predicta navi.

*Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III. m. 17 (8th January, 1229).*—Mandatum est majori et ballivis Linc' quod sex dolia vini regis que sunt in villa Linc', per visum et testimonium legalium hominum vendi faciant, et liberent denarios inde provenientes Johanni de Colemere et Russello de Sancto Maxentio ad nundinas Sancti Ivonis proximo futuras anno etc., xiii.—Mandatum est vicecomiti Norhamt quod sit in auxilium Johanni de Colemere et

Russello de Sancto Maxentio, quos rex ad partes illas mittit ad vina que sunt apud Norhamt, Selveston', Geytinton, Rokingh' et Clive vendenda et commodum regis inde faciendum.

*Close Rolls, 13 Hen III. m. 17 and m. 14 (23rd January, 1229).*—Mandatum est vicecomiti Suhamt' quod vina Petri Chinein et Petri Coifer et Forti de Noiland', burgensium nostrorum de Burdegala, arestata apud Suhamt' occasione mortis Elye Wyger, qui nuper ibidem interfectus fuit, deliberari faciat et eos inde pro voluntate sua disponere permittat.

*Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III. m. 14 (16th March, 1229).*—Rex Henrico etc., salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de vinis quo de novo venerunt usque Lond', capi faciatis ad opus nostrum xx dolia boni vini super meram; videlicet, xv de Wasconia et v de Andegavia; et illa cariari usque Westmonasterium et ibidem in celario nostro poni faciatis, et cum custum inde scievimus, illud mercatoribus reddi faciemus.

*Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III. m. 6 (21st August, 1229).*—Rex constabulario castri Dovr', salutem. Monstravit nobis Reimundus Vidau de Burdegala quod cum applicuisset cum vinis suis apud Sandwic, tu capta prisa vinorum suorum cepisti ultra prisam illam xxx dolia de vinis predictis et secundum justum et rationabile forum non fecisti appreciari. Et ideo tibi precipimus quod predicta xxx dolia vini per visum et testimonium proborum et legalium hominum facias rationabiliter appreciari et retineri, et denarios suos ei inde solvi facias.

*Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III. m. 21 (7th December, 1229).*—Mandatum est constabulario Porecestr' quod xv dolia vini que sunt in custodia sua in castro Porchestr', sine dilatione liberari faciat vicecomiti Suht' carianda quo rex ei preceperit.—Mandatum est constabulario turre Lond' et G. camerario Lond' quod de novis vinis Wasconie que primo ventura sunt apud Lond', retineant ad opus regis xxx dolia vini, et ea salvo reponi faciant in celario regis apud Westmonasterium.—Eodem modo scribitur ballivis Suht' de xxx doliis vini retinendis ad opus regis de novis vinis etc. et salvo reponendis donec rex aliud inde preceperit. Mandatum est custodibus vinorum Suht' quod de vinis regis de Wasconia, que sunt in custodia sua, liberari faciant ballivis Suht' xx dolia vini carianda que rex precepit.—Quia rex non habet sufficientiam vinorum in celario suo Eboraci, mandatum est vicecomiti Eboraci quod de melioribus vinis que

poterit invenire in civitate Eboraci, faciat arestari ad opus regis xx dolia.

*Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III. m. 18 (22nd January, 1230).—De vinis apud Suhamt' retinendis ad opus regis.*—Mandatum est Benedicto Ace et Waltero le Flemeng quod statim, visis literis istis, tam de vinis illis que Johannes de Colemere clericus regis signari fecit apud Suht' quam de aliis vinis que ipsi post recessum ipsius Johannis de partibus illis signaverunt vel signam omiserunt, retineant ad opus regis septies xx dolia vini Wasconie de melioribus vinis cujuscumque fuerint sive de terra regis sive aliunde; ita quod rex diligentiam suam ad hoc oppositam merito debeat habere commendatam.

*Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III. m. 14. 1230.—Pro quibus burgensibus de Bruges.*—Mandatum est ballivis de Winchel' quod vina Gereivini Bovin et Willelmi le Doien et sociorum suorum burgensium comitis Flandrie de Bruges, que sunt in diversis navibus de Baiona arestatis per preceptum regis apud Winchel', que quidem vina poterunt probare sua esse, sine dilatione eis deliberari faciant. Eodem modo scribitur ballivis de Portesm' pro eisdem.

*Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III. m. 10. 1230.—De nave deliberanda.* Mandatum est Ricardo de Gray, in fide qua regi tenetur, quod navem Ernaldi Senzbone, civis Burdel', in qua fuerunt vina quorundam mercatorum de Brug' et quam arestavit, ei sine dilatione deliberari faciat, et reddat eidem frectum navis ejusdem et xxxv li. Turonensium sicut spopondit se esse facturum ut asserit, quas dicti mercatores super vina predicta ei debebant, ut dicit. Octo etiam dolia vini que habuit in eadem navi, ut dicit, si probare possit sua esse, ei similiter sine dilatione reddi faciat, ne querela iterata ad regem debeat inde pervenire.

*Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III. m. 2 (5th October, 1230).—Mandatum est ballivis portus Suhamt' quod navem Constantini de Dunewic' carcatam vinis Johannis de Verger et P. de Torey et sociorum suorum mercatorum de Sancto Johanne, qui habent, literas regis de conductu de vinis illis ducendis quo voluerint hac vice permittant sine impedimento ab ire quo voluerint.*

*Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III. m. 18 (5th February, 1231).—De navibus que veniunt usque Sandwic.*—Mandatum est ballivis de Sandwic' firmiter injungendo in fide qua regi tenentur et sicut regem et honorem suum et se et sua diligunt, quod de navibus

que sunt vel venture sunt usque Sandwic' vinis carcate, non permittant quod aliqua earum, neque in parte neque in toto ibidem se discarcet, set illos qui naves illas ducunt vinis carcatas usque Lond' venire faciant accepta ab eis bona et sufficiente securitate quod cum vinis illis usque Lond' venient ad discarcandum ibidem; et si forte aliqua navis in susceptione ejus mandato regis in parte ibidem in suis vinis fuerit discarcata, mandatum est eisdem ballivis firmiter precipiendo quod navem illam similiter usque London venire faciant, accepta dicta securitate ab illis qui navem illam ducant quod cum residuis vinis ejusdem navis cui ibidem non fuerit discarcata similiter usque London venient ad discarcandum ibidem.

*Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III. m. 18 (22nd February, 1231).—De navibus venientibus usque Sandwic'.*—Mandatum est ballivis regis de Sandwic' quod, non obstante preceptis; regiseis factis quod naves venientes usque Sandwic' vinis carcatas non permitterent ibidem discarcari, sed eas usque Lond' cum vinis suis venire facerent, permittant eos qui naves illas ducunt ibidem discarcare prout voluerint, sicut ibidem fieri consuevit, et illos qui usque Lond' vel alibi in terra regis cum vinis suis ire voluerint, sine impedimento ire permittant.

*Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III. m. 15 (21st April, 1231).*—Mandatum est ballivis Suhamt' quod de primis vinis, que venerint usque Suhamt', capiant ad opus regis xl vel i dolia vini et ea liberent custoidibus vinorum domini regis ibidem, ponenda in celariis domini regis et custodenda, donec rex aliud inde preceperit.

*Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III. m. 14 (25th April, 1231).*—Mandatum est vicecomiti Glouc' quod apud Bristoll' aretari faciat xxx dolia vini ad opus regis, quorum xv depositis ibidem, alia xv dolia sine dilatione cariari faciat usque Glouc' contra adventum regis, de hiis et aliis sibi providendo de quibus occasione adventus domini regis sibi vederit providendum.

*Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III. m. 14 (12th May, 1231).*—Mandatum est vicecomiti Glouc' quod ex quo non invenit vina ad opus regis apud Bristollum prout regi signavit, omnia vina que inveniet venalia in celariis ville Glouc' retineat ad opus regis Rex est in veniendo versus partes Heref'. Et mandatum est vicecomiti Heref' quod omnia vina venalia inventa apud Heref' in celariis et alibi ad opus regis capi et retineri faciat.



*Close Rolls*, 15 Hen. III. m. 9 (11th July, 1231).—Mandatum est ballivis Bristoll' quod de c doliis vini, que retinerunt ad opus regis, apud Bristoll', faciant habere R. comiti Cornubie x dolia vini ad denarios suos ad idem forum quo ea ceperunt ad opus regis.

*Close Rolls*, 15 Hen. III. m. 9 (15th July, 1231).—Mandatum est majori et camerariis Lond' quod sexaginta dolia vinorum, que capta et singnata fuerunt ad opus regis apud Lond' arestarti faciant ubicumque fuerint inventa, sive in domibus sive extra domum, et xl dolia meliora predictum doliorum liberaro faciant Johanni de Colemer' carienda per maneria quo ei preceptum est, per rationabile precium, quod ipsi una cum dicto Johanne apponi facient predictis vinis.

*Close Rolls*, 15 Hen. III. m. 8d. (2nd August, 1231).—Mandatum est ballivis Wintonie quod, sicut corpora et omnia catalla sua diligunt, non permittant aliquo modo quod aliqua taberna vinorum. teneatur in villa sua, nec vina in ea vendantur, sed omnia vina ville sue cum omni festinatione sequi faciant exercitum regis in partibus Wallie, in quibus rex est in expeditione sua; taliter et ita viriliter sehabentes in hac parte ne pro defectu; sui rex ad eos se graviter capere debeat.—Wigornia, Bristoll', Brug', Suht', Glouc'.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 19 (5th November, 1231).—Mandatum est ballivis Bristoll quod per visum Petri le Peitevin, quem rex illuc mittit capiant c dolia vini de melioribus vinis inventis in villa sua ad opus regis.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 18 (3rd December, 1231).—Mandatum est ballivis Suhamt' quod de melioribus vinis que venerunt vel ventura sunt in portum suum, retineant ad opus regis xxx dolia.

*Ibidem*. (19th December, 1231).—Mandatum est camerario regis Lond' quod de melioribus vinis que venerunt apud Lond. retineri faciat ad opus regis quadraginta dolia vini, et ea salvi reponi faciat in celario regis apud Westmonasterium.

*Ibidem*. (21st December, 1231).—Mandatum est ballivis Bristoll, quod de melioribus vinis que inventa fuerint in villa Bristolli de vinis Wasconie, cujuscumque fuerint, retineri faciant ad opus domini regis sexaginta dolia vini per visum Rogeri Alard, etc.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 15 (4th February, 1232).—Mandatum est custodibus vinorum regis Suhamt' quod de vinis regis, que sunt in custodia sua, liberent baillivis Suhamt' due dolia vini de prisa regis, et quatuor dolia de empto, carienda usque Merleberg (*Marlborough*).

*Ibidem* (6th February, 1232).—Rex baillivis suis Suhamt' salutem. Precepimus vobis quod de melioribus vinis, que nuper venerunt in villam vestram, sine dilatione faciatis arestarti ad opus nostrum triginta dolia vini Wasconiensis, cujuscunque fuerint vina illa, sive de terra nostra Anglie sive aliunde. Et si bona inveneritis vina Andegavensia, ibidem arestetis ] ad opus nostrum decem dolia ; nec alicui parcatos, qui vina predicta eligatis ad opus nostrum, sicut inde indemfines esse volueritis.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 13 (17th March, 1232).—Mandatum est Johanni de Colemere quod vina que contra instans Pascha ventura sunt usque Guldeford, per preceptum regis, simul cum tot doliis vini quot sunt apud Guldef' de vinis regis, sine dilatione venire faciat usque Radingi, ubi rex solempnitati Pascali celebrande proposuit interesse.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 12 (14th April, 1232).—Mandatum est G. camerario London' quod de melioribus vinis reokis que venerunt de novo apud London', retineat ad opus regis xx dolia vini, et ea statim liberari faciat vicecomitibus Lond' carienda quo rex eis precepit.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 12.—Perdonavit etiam rex eidem Petro xxxv solidos quos regi debet pro uno dolio vini de vinis regis venditis per preceptum suum per Henricum filium Aucheri et Henricum de Waltham.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 10 (20th May, 1232).—Mandatum est ballivis Bristoll, quod de primis vinis que venerint in villam suam, capiant ad opus regis L dolia vini recca et salvo custodiant, donec rex aliud inde preceperit.

*Ibidem*. (21st May, 1232).—Mandatum est custodibus vinorum regis Oxonie quod habere faciant Pontio de Pontibus unum dolium vini de vinis regis, que sunt in custodia sua.

*Close Rolls*. 16 Hen. III. m. 9 (12th June, 1232).—Mandatum est Johanni de Colemere quod capiat ad opus domini regis in nundinis sancti Botulfi xl dolia vini, et ea liberari facia vicecomiti Linc' cui mandatum est quod vina illa recipiat et cariari faciat

usque Jakesle, liberanda ibidem vicecomiti Northampton, cui preceptum est quod en recipiat et cariari faciat quo ei rex precepit ad opus ipsius regis.

*Close Rolls*, 16 Hen. III. m. 8 (27th June, 1232).—*De vinis emendis*.—Mandatum est majori et ballivis de Lenn' quod sine dilatione emi faciant ad opus regis quatuor dolia vini Wasconiensis recca; et de eisdem vinis cum festinatione cariari faciant usque Walsingham unum dolium vini, et usque Swafham unum dolium vini, et usque Theford unum dolium vini, et usque Chipeham unum dolium vini; et precium eorundem doliorum regi scire faciant apud Walsing' die Veneris proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli; quod quidem precium rex tunc eis reddet simul cum cariagio eorundem vinorum.

*Close Rolls*, 17 Hen. III. m. 11 (17th March, 1233).—Mandatum est ballivis Suht' quod de melioribus vinis, que ventura sunt vel que venerunt ad villam vestram, cujuscumque fuerint, arestari faciant ad opus regis quinquaginta dolia vini super matrem, scilicet xxx dolia vini Wasconie et xx dolia vini Andegavie.

*Close Rolls*, 17 Hen. III. m. 10 (24th April, 1233).—Mandatum est ballivis Bristoll' quod de melioribus vinis, que fuerint inventa in villa sua per visum Andree de Grendon, servientis regis, emant xxx dolia vini, scilicet xxv dolia Wasconie, et v Andegavie, et cum summa festinatione ea cariari faciant usque Glouc' ad opus regis in instanti festo Pentecoste. Et cum rex scierit custum eorundem vinorum et cariagium eorum, illud faciet acquietari.

*Close Rolls*, 17 Hen. III. m. 9 (29th May, 1232).—*De mercatoribus vinorum, ne veniant in Angliam cum minoribus doliis quam esse solent*.—Mandatum est ballivis P. comitis Britannie in nundinis Sancti Botulfi quod singulis septimanis, quamdiu nundine duraverint, ter clamari faciant per easdem nundinas quod nullus mercator ducens vina venalia in Angliam vel vina Wasconie vel Andegavie vel de Obblenc vel de Aucerr' vel aliunde, decetero post has nundinas Sancti Botulfi venire faciat in Angliam aliquod dolium vini, quod minus contineat secundum numerum sextertiorum quam continere consuevit temporibus Henrici regis, Ricardi regis et Johannis regis, etc. Et si quis mercator ab illis nundinis in antea interceptus fuerit quod ducat dolia vini venalia in Angliam minoris mensure quam esse consueverunt temporibus predictis, sciat se omnia

vina sua amissurum et insuper in gravem misericordiam regis incidisse.

*Close Rolls*, 17 Hen. III. m. 3 (18th September, 1233).—Mandatum est ballivis de Bruges (*Bridgenorth*) quod, si vina regis, que de Wigornia precepit cariari usque Bruges non dum illuc venerint, tunc unum dolium vini venale in villa sua, visis literis, and denarios regis usque Wenlao ad opus regis cariari faciant.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 35 (1st November, 1233).—Mandatum est vicecomiti Wigornie quod vi dolia vini, que nuper ad opus regis capta fuerunt apud Wigorniam, per probes et legales homines faciat appretari et cum summa festinatione usque Heref' ad regem cariari. Et rex ibidem pretium et cariagium illorum faciat acquietari.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 35 (23rd November, 1233).—Mandatum est vicecomiti Glouc' quod alveos (*skins*?) qui venerunt nuper usque Glouc' de Bristollo cum vinis regis, discarcari faciat et mitti usque Neweham, et bonam custodiam apponat ne aliquis per eos ex parte inimicorum regis hinc inde transfretet; et scire faciat hominibus ducentibus alveos illos quod ante quam illuc venerint, scire faciant constabulario Bristolli, R. de Bray, Hamoni de Crevequer et Radulfo de Hurle adventum eorum usque Neuham.—Et mandatum est eisdem constabulario et aliis quod ex quo significaverint eis adventum suum usque Neuham, batellos existentes in custodia sua mittant illuc in occursum eorum ad eos conducendos usque Bristollum.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 32 (27th December, 1233).—Mandatum est ballivis Suhamt' quod de vinis que nuper venerunt usque Suht' sine dilatione retineat (*sic*) ad opus regis de melioribus vinis cujuscunque fuerint, lx dolia vini Wasconie et xx dolia vini Andegavie, et ea salvo custodire faciant, donec Johannes de Colemere ad eos venerit ad faciendum inde preceptum regis.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 25 (30th April, 1234).—Mandatum est camerario domini regis Lond' quod per visum Johannis de Colemer, clerici domini regis, de primis vinis que ventura sunt Lond' retinere faciat ad opus domini regis quadringinta dolea vini, et rex postea ea aquietari faciat. Mandatum est ballivis domini regis Suhampton quod de primis vinis que ventura sunt apud Suhamt' retineant ad opus domini regis viginti dolea vini Wasconie et quinque dolia vini Andegavie et dominus rex

postea ea acquietari faciat.—Mandatum est ballivis domini regis Wygornie quod decem dolia vini domini regis, que ballivi domini regis Bristolli ad eos mittent per preceptum domini regis cum ad eos venerint, recipiant et ea in aliquo celario penes eos salvo reponi faciant.—Mandatum est vicecomiti Glouc' quod viginti dolia vini que ballivi domini regis Bristolli ei liberabunt per preceptum domini regis, cum ad eos venerint, ab eis recipiat et ea salvo hospitari faciat in castro Glouc'.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 21 (29th May, 1234).—The King sent W. Talbot, Viscount of Gloucester to buy 100 casks of wine at Bristol for his use.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 14 (22nd July, 1234).—*Pro rege de vinis*.—Rex majori et vicecomitibus Lond' salutem. Mittimus fidelum nostrum Johannem de Colemere usque London ad emendum ibidem ad opus nostrum, triginta dolia vini, mandantes quod predicta vina ei habere faciatis.—Rex ballivis suis Suht' salutem. Precipimus vobis quod de vinis, que sunt in villa nostra Suhampt' emi faciatis ad opus nostrum viginti dolia vini, sicut fidelis noster Johannes de Colemere vobis dicet ex parte nostra.

*Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 5 (28th September, 1234).—Rex custodibus vinorum Suhamt' salutem. Precipimus tibi quod unum dolum musti de prisa nostra, quod est in custodia vestra, habere faciatis ballivis nostris Suhampt' carandum ad nos usque Rading'.

*Patent Rolls*, 15 Henry III. m. 6 (10th November, 1230). *De denariis provenientibus de vinis venditis per manum Johannis de Colemere*.—Rex Johanni de Colemere, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de denariis nostris, qui sunt in custodia vestra de vinis nostris per diversa nostra maneria per manum vestrum venditis per preceptum nostrum, habere faciatis Gervasio camerario nostro Londoniensi xxvi libras, quas posuit in doliis vini Wasconie emptis ad opus nostrum per manum suam apud London per preceptum nostrum contra primum adventum nostrum London post reditum nostrum de Britannia, post festum Omnium Sanctorum anno etc. xvi, videlicet, pro quolibet dolio xliii solidos et quatuor denarios; et quatuor libras xiii solidos et denarios, quos posuit in duobus doliis vini Wasconie emptis ad opus nostrum per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet, pro utroque dolio

solidos et viii denarios; et lx solidos, quos posuit in duobus doliis musti Gallici emptis ad opus nostrum per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet, pro utroque dolio xxx solidos; et xvi solidos, quos posuit in predictis vinis et musto ducendis et hospitandis in celario nostro Westmonasterium et xviii denarios, quos posuit in predictis doliis barrandis et circulandis. Faciatis etiam habere eidem Gervasio vii libras, quas posuit in tribus doliis vini Wasconie emptis ad opus nostrum et missis usque Windesor per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet, pro quolibet dolio lxvi solidis et viii denarios; et lxxii solidos, quos posuit in duobus doliis vini emptis ad opus nostrum et missis ibidem per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet, pro utroque dolio xxxvi solidos; et xlv solidos, quos posuit in uno dolio vini Wasconie empto ad opus nostrum ad eundem terminum; et xiii solidos, quos posuit in predictis vi doliis vini missis usque Windlesor, carrendis de London usque Windlesor, videlicet; cuilibet carette ad tres equos per diem xiiii denarios; et viii denarios, quos posuit in eisdem doliis barrandis et circulandis, et viii denarios, quos liberavit cuidam vadleto qui vina illa custodivit a London usque Windlesor; et tres solidos, quos posuit in eisdem vinis carcandis apud London et discarcandis apud Windlesor. Faciatis etiam habere eidem Gervasio, camerario nostro, quatuor libras et x solidos, quos posuit in duobus doliis vini Wasconie emptis ad opus nostrum et missis usque Keniton per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet pro utroque dolio xlv solidos; et quatuor libras xiii solidos et quatuor denarios, quos posuit in duobus doliis vini Wasconie emptis ad opus nostrum et missis ibidem per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet pro utroque dolio xlv solidos et viii denarios; et quatuor solidos et viii denarios, quos posuit in predictis quatuor doliis vini missis usque Keniton carandis de London usque Keniton, videlicet cuilibet carette ad tres equos per diem xiiii denarios et xii denarios quos posuit in eisdem doliis carcandis apud London; et sex denarios, quos posuit in eisdem doliis barrandis, circulandis et custodiens a London usque Keniton. Et pacari faciat x libras et xvi solidos pro sex doliis vini Wasconie emptis per manum vestram ad opus nostrum et positis in castro nostro Wintonie per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum, videlicet, pro quolibet dolio

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xxxvi solidos; et duos solidos pro eisdem vinis carcandis et discarcandis ibidem; et lxxii solidos pro duobus doliis vini emptis per manum vestram ad opus nostrum et missis usque Clarendon per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum videlicet pro utroque dolio xxx et vi solidos; et duos solidos et iiii denarios pro eisdem doliis carcandis de Suhamton usque Clarendon; et quatuor denarios pro eisdem doliis apud Suhampton carcandis; et xxxvi solidos pro uno dolio vini empto per manum vestram ad opus nostrum et misso usque Guldeford per preceptum nostrum ad eundem terminum; et vii solidos pro eodem dolio et tribus doliis albi vini de prisca nostra de Suhampton cariandis de Suhamton usque Guldeford; et xvii denarios pro eisdem doliis apud Suhamton carcandis et apud Guldeford discarcandis.

### DETAILS OF SOME PURCHASES OF WINE BY HENRY III., IN 1230.

DETAILS OF SOME PURCHASES OF WINE BY HENRY III., IN 1230.						
£	s.	d.				
26	0	0	...	12 Casks Gascony wine at 43/4 each	...	16/-
4	13	4	...	2 " " " at 46/8 "	...	1/6
3	0	0	...	2 " Musti Gallici at 30/- "	...	17/8
7	0	0	...	3 Casks Gascony wine at 46/8 "	...	14/-
3	12	0	...	2 " " " at 36/- "	...	8/-
2	5	0	...	1 " " " at 45/- "	...	-/8
						3/-
						<u>25/8</u>
						For 6 casks
4	10	0	...	2 Casks Gascony wine at 45/- each	...	4/8
4	13	4	...	2 " " " at 46/8 "	...	1/-
						<u>-/6</u>
						Packing
						6/2
						For 4 casks
10	16	0	...	6 Casks Gascony wine at 36/- each	...	2/-
						Loading and unloading at Winchester
3	12	0	...	2 " Gascony wine at 36/- "	...	2/4
						<u>-/4</u>
						Loading
						Carriage from Southampton to Clarendon
1	16	0	...	1 Cask Gascony wine at 36/-	...	2/8
						For 2 casks
						7/-
						For carriage of this and 3 casks of white wine de prise from Southampton to Guildford
						1/-
						Loading and unloading
						<u>8/-</u>
71	17	8	...	35 Casks at 41/- average per cask		
3	2	0	...	Carriage and other expenses		
<u>74</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>8</u>				



## CHAPTER VII.

THROUGHOUT the thirteenth century the activity of the communal and municipal life of English burghs was considerable, but the conception of national aims was then very little developed. The numerous charters from this period that have come down to us all show that the economic policy of the burgh authorities was chiefly intended to foster the individual prosperity of towns and to develop the trade of burgesses and freemen, by protecting them from competition on the part of *foreigners*, a term embracing then all those who did not enjoy the freedom of the city, whether alien or English born.

The reign of Edward I. is of the greatest interest to the student of English commercial history as a period of transition during which were laid the foundations of a national system of commerce which gradually outgrew the purely municipal institutions, and which had an immediate and considerable influence on the foreign trade of this country.\*

At the same time there was nothing that more troubled or bewildered both the legislation and the popular understanding, during this and the two following reigns, than the economic results of this increasing foreign commerce. The advantages of the augmented intercourse with the Continent

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\* See W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Early and Middle Ages*, p. 265.

were sensibly enough felt, but very imperfectly comprehended; hence, scheme after scheme was tried by either the royal or municipal authorities to retain the benefit of the country's foreign trade upon terms wholly inconsistent with the necessary conditions of its existence. The commerce itself was sufficiently welcome to King and Commons alike, but the foreigners by whose aid it was necessarily in part carried on were the object of a most intense and restless jealousy. Whatever portion of the profits arising out of trade fell to their share was looked upon as nothing better than so much plunder, the public notion being that all foreign trade was of the nature of a contest between two adverse parties, and that whatever the one country gained the other must lose.

This view led the mediæval legislator to prohibit either coined money or bullion to be carried out of the realm. Foreign merchants, as well as those from Gascony and other Continental possessions of the English Crown, were thereby reduced to the necessity of either directly bartering their goods for the produce of the kingdom, or, if they sold them for money in the first instance, of investing the proceeds in other goods before they could be permitted to return home.

It is all the more remarkable that such an attempt to control the natural course of commerce should have received the assent of Edward I., because this prince had done more, throughout his reign, than any other English sovereign to redress abuses and to place the foreign trade of the nation on a safer and more advantageous footing than heretofore.

Ever since 1266, when he was nominated by

Henry III. protector of the foreign merchants in London, Edward had shown great partiality to foreigners; he granted to them many trading privileges and licences, and his liberal treatment of the foreigners after his accession, although springing out of necessity, \* rather than from any special liking he entertained for them, was nevertheless very distasteful to the natives.

The dispute about the rights of foreign traders in English cities had been confined to the limited area of the towns respectively concerned until Edward I. raised it to the rank of a national question, when he granted the *Carta Mercatoria*, in 1303. By this charter, and other enactments conceived in the same spirit, this prince laid the foundations on which his grandson was able to establish a definite and national policy for the development of both the internal and foreign trade of the country, which resulted in the increased prosperity of the people, whilst all the sources from which revenue was obtained were made to yield more freely.

All the more credit is due to Edward I. for having so long resisted the narrow-minded and tyrannical policy of municipal authorities directed against foreign traders, when one considers the economic conditions then prevalent. In London, as well as in all other large towns, they were fully aware that the presence of foreign merchants was desirable, and they were anxious to attract them by the grant of certain trading rights and facilities

\* "From the very day of his accession," writes Bishop Stubbs, "Edward was financially in the hands of the Lombard bankers—But more than this, Edward's pecuniary exigencies forced him

to the invention or development of a great system of customs duties in the collection of which he had to employ foreign agents." Chron. Edward I. and II. Introd. Vol. I., pp. c., ci.

for recovering their debts\* ; but, on the other hand, the jealous care of the burgesses, who feared to see the foreigner supplant them or share in the trading monopolies they had set up for their own benefit, caused many legislative regulations to be enacted which were in direct opposition to the natural course of commerce, and therefore checked its development.

The foreign merchant was, for instance, bound to take up his abode in the house of a citizen ; he was not allowed to sell any goods by retail ; he might only buy of freemen of the city, and was not allowed to buy and sell again within the city ; he might sell to persons who had not the freedom of the city, on three days of the week only ; he had not the right to bid against a freeman of the city, and was not allowed to remain in the city more than forty days, all his goods remaining unsold at the end of that time being forfeited.†

Unless in a town, or at a fair, the foreign merchant had no status, and could not recover his debts ; he was, besides, liable to be mulcted, not according to the Law Merchant which he understood, but by local customs which were unfamiliar to him, or according to arbitrary and ruinous tariffs.

Foreign merchants coming to England with wines were not only subjected to these general prohibitive ordinances, but they had also to submit to many local rules and special regulations from the moment they arrived in port. The Domesday of

\* For debts due to Gascon and other merchants for wine sold in London, see *Delpit, Collection des Documents français, etc., No. xviii., lvi, etc., and Calendar of Letter Books in the Guildhall.*

† For further details of the prohibitions to which foreign merchants were subjected in London, see *Liber Custumarum*, in the *Monumenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Ed. by Riley, Vol. I.

Gippewicz \* (Ipswich) and the Liber Custumarum are both very instructive in this respect.

At Ipswich, a special officer, with twelve men under him, had to see to the unloading of the wines from all ships arriving at the town quays, and no one was allowed to unload and store wine on the quay without his permission; he charged 2d. per cask if stored on the quay, and another 2d. if it had to be taken to a tavern adjoining the quay, and 3d. if any further. There was an elaborate scale of charges for burgesses having the freedom of the city and foreign burgesses and for wine carted in or out of the city. †

In London, local municipal prohibitions were numerous and their object often difficult to understand; in 1293, for instance, the merchants of Lorraine who brought the Moselle wines to London were allowed to sell them by the cask and half-cask and not otherwise, but they were at the same time prohibited from buying more than three live pigs each for their own eating. ‡

A considerable amount of freedom was, however, accorded to merchant strangers by Edward I. at the time when the City was in his hand; he

\* *The Domesday of Gippewicz*, which has been edited by Sir Travers Twiss in the Black Book of the Admiralty, was written during the reign of Edward I. "but," says the Editor, "the account of the circumstances under which it was written and drawn up, warrants the belief that it was a recollection as near as might be of the old customs and usages of the town, which had been previously collected in the *Elde Domesday* in the second year of King John."

† See Appendix to this Chapter.

‡ Et sachez que li Loreng ne poen vendre lour vin a detail avaunt cest prime vessel, mes par muy et par demy muy poent il vendre, et nent autrement . . . . Ne nul Loreng ne put achater plus qe trois vifs porcs a son manger. *Liber Custumarum*, in *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Vol. II., part I., p. 62. "And know that the Lorrainers cannot sell their wine by retail, but by cask and half-cask and in no other way . . . . Neither can any Lorrainer buy more than three live pigs for his eating."

suppressed the grossest abuses of its privileges and put an end to the vexatious system of hindering the unloading of merchants' goods in London. He tolerated no delays of justice, but insisted that the sheriffs should give daily audience to foreign complainants, and he made it easy for the foreign merchant, if of good character, to acquire the freedom of the City and its consequent privileges.\*

Some prohibitions enacted during the municipal administration were still maintained nominally. No foreigner was allowed to keep a hostel in the City, unless a freeman and able to produce good credentials,† but this ordinance was frequently infringed, as witness the precepts to certain Teutonic and Bordeaux merchants in 1300, when the City had regained its liberties, forbidding them in future to hold hostels for bed and board, and warning them to betake themselves to the hostels of freemen under pain of losing all their movables.‡

The restless jealousy and ever-recurring vexations of the City authorities towards the Bordeaux merchants did not disappear with the suppression of their right to elect their own mayor and to govern themselves. Although placed at a great disadvantage, they kept up the fight. On January 18th, 1289, Edward, who was then in Gascony, sent a writ to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, his *locum tenens* in England, in pursuance of another decree in favour

\* Liber Albus, Vol. I., p. 287.

† Liber Albus, Vol. I., p. 268. Also Calendar of Letter Books in the Guildhall; Letter Book C, fo. xv b.

‡ Letter Book C, fo. xlv. *Inhibicio Portegal*. *Portegal* is evidently an error for *Bordegal* (Bordeaux), as the names of the vintners which follow are all names of

Gascon merchants; this had escaped the attention of Dr. Sharpe, the learned editor of the Calendar of Letter Books of the Guildhall and Keeper of the City Records, who, however, quite agreed with the view expressed here when this fact was pointed out to him by the author.

of the citizens and merchants of Bordeaux, ordering that they should be allowed to bring their wines into the City of London, on payment of the accustomed dues; the citizens of London having complained that such a proceeding was prejudicial to their liberties, the Earl of Cornwall was directed to summon a council, and see justice done to both parties.\*

In 1291, certain casks of wine were seized in the possession of merchants and burgesses of Oxford for the reason that they had been bought of foreign merchants in London, and, on that account, had been forfeited according to the custom of the City.†

Of all foreigners in London, the Gascon merchants were the most numerous and powerful and much of the City's animosity was directed against them, objection being taken to their ancient rights, which were continually challenged by the aldermen.

In 1293, the Bordeaux vintners claimed to have the same trading rights in London as those enjoyed by Provence and other foreign merchants, renouncing all former privileges, and they obtained from Parliament the permission to carry on their trade in the City on the same terms as these merchants.‡ The Provençal merchants were, shortly after, called upon to declare their exact status in the City; they were questioned by the warden and aldermen as to the nature of their claim to traffic in the City, and whether they enjoyed any privilege of residence or exemption

\* Letter Book A, fo. lv b.

† They were, however, delivered up to the said burgesses of Oxford, by special favour, at the request of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, on condition that they would not in future make such purchases, especially from strangers, in the City

of London, but only from citizens and freemen of the said city. Letter Book A, fo. civ b.

‡ Confirmed by Parliament in 1296. *Riley*, Pleadings in Parliament. London, 1661, in folio, pp. 108, 109, and 130.

from custom granted them by the King. They declared that they enjoyed no such grant nor did they claim any extraordinary privileges by land or water, but only—like other foreigners—to sell by wholesale to the *great ones* (*magnatibus*) of the land and to freemen of the City and not otherwise. \* It was therefore agreed that Bordeaux vintners should be allowed to sell their wines freely, being subject to the same regulations as all other *forains*, and that the freight was to be paid by the buyer before taking delivery of the wine. †

At the same time, it was also decreed that the merchants of Lorraine could come and sell their wines in franchise in casks and half-casks. ‡

The King himself, who by long practice must have become tolerably conversant with City customs, took in hand the cause of the Gascon merchants and addressed a writ of *certiorari* to the mayor and sheriffs as to the reason why merchants of Bordeaux were not permitted to hire and inhabit hostels in the City, as had been their wont, and why they were called upon to pay 2d. on each cask of wine by way of pontage. The return made to this writ discloses the favour shown by Edward to foreign merchants during the time the City remained in his hand. It was to the effect that neither merchants of Bordeaux, nor any other foreign merchants whatsoever, were wont to hire and hold hostels in London

\* Letter Book C, fo. vi. *Recognicio mercatorum Pvincie quod non clamant libertatem. Also Liber Cust. I., p. 70.*

† Rot. Parl. A.D. 1293. 21 Ed. I., Vol. I., p. 99, col. 1, and p. 101, col. 2.

‡ Li Loreng poent vendre, et autres poent venir et achater, saunz forfait. Et si ceo est kiel,

il prendront toneus hastethange, et denaunt le meillour pour autre-ataunt com leur vendra le peiour; et si ceo est hulke ou autre neif, un tonel devaunt et autre derere, le meillour pur autreataunt com lem vendra le peur. (*Liber Custumarum. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Vol. II., part I., p. 62.)



at a time when the citizens enjoyed their full franchise as they now did by confirmation of the lord the King, nor to have other foreigners living in their house or entertained at their table; they were, nevertheless, permitted to hold cellars and warehouses for storing their wine and other merchandise for a term according to the custom. As regards the pontage demanded of them for their wines, the lord the King granted to the aforesaid citizens that for the repair and maintenance of London Bridge, they should have and take, of every cask of wine passing under the bridge and beyond, 2d. and this by charter of the King himself, which he made to them for a certain time still running, etc.\*

This return did not satisfy Edward, who, a few weeks later, sought to be informed whether Bordeaux merchants were permitted to reside on the premises where they stored their merchandise, and for how long. To this the City replied that no foreign merchants were ever allowed to reside on premises hired for storing merchandise, nor to receive others there, but they ought to reside in the houses of freemen, for a term of forty days and no more, so that they sell their wares within that time.†

This limitation of his stay in the City was one of the greatest hardships that the foreigner or the stranger had to bear. The hardship was all the greater because the restriction was not always known to the trader until he had already resided some time in the City; thus we find the plea of ignorance often set up by offending merchants.‡

\* Letter Book C, fo. xlviij b. 30 June, 1300 (28 Ed. I.).

† Letter Book C, fo. i b., *pro Mercatoribus de Bordeaux*.

‡ Calendar of Letter Books. Letter Book B, pp. 79, 80. *Liber Custumarum*, Vol. I., p. 71.

Failing to obtain any satisfaction from the City, the King convened a meeting of the merchant-vintners of Aquitaine, who, in order to procure the royal protection, granted to the Crown a new custom of 2s. per cask in addition to all other customs on wines brought within the realm "whereon they are bound to pay freight to the mariners;" this duty to be levied within forty days of their coming to port, and to be paid into the hands of William Trente, the King's Butler, at London, Sandwich, Wynchelese, Shorham, Portesmouth, Hampton, Pole, Warham, Weymouth, in the counties of Devon and Somerset, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the county of Cornwall, at Bristol, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lenn and Boston, Kingston-upon-Hull and Berwick-upon-Tweed.\*

The following year the King, evidently satisfied with the success obtained with the Gascon wine merchants, determined to make the measure general, and having called an assembly of all the most important foreign traders in England, he proposed to them a more liberal legislation and greater facilities to carry on their trade throughout England, and they, in return, consented to an increase of duties which had been refused by an assembly of English merchants.†

The importance of this charter, known as the *Carta Mercatoria*, lay in the fact that it elevated to the rank of a national question a dispute which had hitherto ranged round the limited area of the privileges of the towns respectively concerned, and that it established a policy for the kings who were

\* Rot. Patent., 30 Ed. I., m. 2.,  
13 August, 1302.

† This tariff was long known as  
*Nova Customa*, and is referred to  
*infra* as the *New Custom*.

to come. "Edward pledged both himself and his successors to accord peace and security to all alien merchants. He conceded to them the right to sell their wares wholesale to all, whether citizens or strangers. No check was to be put on exports, provided the duties were paid, so that the vexatious prohibition to re-export imported but unsold goods was abolished, except as regards wine, in the case of which a royal license was to be procured; the restrictions upon lodging, sojourn and the storing of goods were abolished; in actions at law, in which aliens were parties at issue with Englishmen, half the jury was to consist of members of the alien party's nationality; a special tribunal was erected for aliens to which appeal lay against delays of justice by the mayor and sheriffs."\*

This charter is also remarkable as the first instance of an equalization of duties, no difference being made between Edward's subjects in Aquitaine, his allies and his foes. It specified that all merchants from Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Provence, Champagne, Aquitaine, Thoulouse, Hautes Alpes, Flanders, Brabant, and any other lands and foreign parts,† could come to England in all peace and security, being exempt of murage, pontage and pavage;‡ they were free to go in entire safety with their wines and goods in all the King's dominions, there to trade wholesale in the cities, towns, and burghs where there was a market, with either natives or foreigners; they

\* F. P. Barnard, *Companion to English History*, pp. 273, 274.

† Alemanie, Francie, Hispanie, Portugalie, Navarrie, Lombardie, Tuscie, Provincie, Catelanie, et Ducatus nostri Aquitanie, Tho-

losanie, Caturcini, Flandrie, Brabantie, et omnium aliarum terrarum et locorum extraneorum quocunque nomine censeatur, venientium in regnum nostrum Anglie.

‡ *Pannage* in the text.

could bring whatever goods they chose, providing they paid the usual taxes; export them everywhere except to an enemy's territory; but no wine was allowed to be re-exported from England without a special license and the King's permission—*sine voluntate nostra et licentia speciali*. Foreign merchants were to be at liberty to lodge and dwell where they pleased—in *civitatibus, burgis et villis prædictis*. All contracts between merchants were to be binding after the God's Penny had been given—*postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas contrahentes datus fuerit et receptus*. No prise or seizure of wine was to be made in the King's name—*Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, in perpetuum, concedentes quod nulla prisam vel arrestationem . . . contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus aut fieri patiemur*. Speedy justice was to be administered by the proper authorities according to the Law of Merchants. In case of dispute, contracts were to be proved according to the usages of the fair or market-town where the contracts had been made. In case of default on the part of the authorities to administer justice, due punishment was to ensue and the merchants were to be indemnified. In all charges, except those of a capital nature, a foreign merchant was to have, if possible, a moiety of the jury composed of like foreign merchants. And then, as a consequence of these admirable provisions, comes the following article: All foreign merchants to pay to the King 2s. on each tun of wine, in addition to former customs for *obtaining the aforesaid liberties and privileges—pro supradictis autem libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis*.\*

\* *Liber Custumarum. Munimenta* | I., pp. 205, 206, 207, 208, 209. 31  
*Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Vol. II., part | Ed. I. (1st February, 1303.)

merchants had of late years taken their wines instead of on to Ipswich.\*

The King had previously issued strict orders that no person importing wine into England should wrongly claim to be exempt from submitting to the *recta prisa* on the plea of being the merchant of the barons of the Cinque Ports, who had "quittance of the said *recta prisa* from time out of mind," for their own wines.†

In 1280, Edward, whose resources had been exhausted by the late war in Wales, and who found himself forced to a war with France, turned to the Bordeaux wine merchants for the pecuniary help of which he stood in great need. Many of those who had supplied Henry III. with wine remained faithful to his son, not only as purveyors of the royal cellars, but also as money-lenders, without whose assistance the ultimate conquest of Wales might have been considerably delayed. Elye de Blaye, who had been Henry III.'s wine buyer in Gascony, and Guilhem Chicket, lent Edward I. 2,500 livres bordelaises,‡ and there was a debt inscribed at the Guildhall of £1,200 sterling due by the King to Arnaud Chicket, the creditor being affectionately called *our citizen and merchant of Bordeaux, civis et mercator noster Burdegalis*.§

\* Rot. Pat., 3 Ed. I., m. 19.

† Close Rolls, 1 Ed. I., m. 5. 20th July, 1273. Order to the bailiffs of Southampton to cause the goods of John Sarre, merchant of Dartmouth, and of Edmund de Sundwico, merchant of Ireland, to be delivered to them without delay, upon their finding security for rendering to the King his right price on their wines, if it be due to him, as the King learns from the takers of his wines that John

and Edmund, who arrived at Southampton with certain ships laden with wine, feign to be of the liberty of the Cinque Ports, and therefore refuse to render to the King his right prise on the wines in that town. On the same day a similar order was sent to the bailiffs at Portsmouth.

‡ Rot. Vasc., 8, 9, 10 Ed. I., m. 3.

§ Claus. litt. fact. in Vasc., 17 Ed. I., pars. I., m. 10.

As might be expected, the generosity of these merchants was not altogether disinterested, and most of the King's creditors for money lent were favoured with large orders for the royal cellars.

Raymond Monader, of Bordeaux, for instance, lent 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) to Edward, who, at the same time, owed him £182 10s., for 180 casks of wine sent to England partly at the buyer's and partly at the seller's risk. As to Pierre Calhau, one of the most important Gascon wine merchants in the City, the King owed him so much that he alienated in his favour the royal dues at Barsac, and, these proving insufficient, the proceeds of taxes raised in the Médoc.\*

Many other Bordeaux merchants shared in the royal favour, and it was the privileged position they came to enjoy in London which led to the City's animosity referred to elsewhere. The importance of their trade with London had greatly increased, no less than 238 tuns † of wine being taken in the City for the King's *recta prisā* in 1280, this number representing at least 119 arrivals, and there is reason to believe that the figures that have come down to us do not represent the complete return for that year.

Besides these wines of the right prise, the King ordered Gregory de Rokesle and Orlandinus de Podio to pay to Master Adam de Norfolk, Constable of the Castle of Bordeaux, 300 marks to buy wine to the King's use in Gascony,‡ and two years later Edward

\* Rot. Pat. et chart. Vasc., 8, 9, 10 Ed. I., m. 3.

† Rot. Pat., 8 Ed. I., m. 14 and m. 5; 9 Ed. I., m. 14.

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Gregory de Rokesle had received £84 16s. 8d. by three writs of *Liberate* for wines bought by them for the King, and the carriage thereof; also 64s. 3d., arrears of wines bought for the King's coronation in 1274.

eighteen tuns of wine of the *recta prisa*, taken by him in London, and 11s. 3d. for the hire of boats to take the said wine to the Tower. They also paid him £30 for thirty tuns of wines of the *recta prisa* taken at Sandwich, and 60s. for carriage of same to London.\*

In the following year, Reyner de Luka, Orlandinus de Podio and their fellows, merchants of Lucca, were directed to pay to Elias de Cyreys, merchant of Bordeaux, £22 on the feast of All Saints next, for eleven tuns of wine bought from him for the King's use and sent to Chester; † they had to pay, at the same time, to Henry le Waleys, citizen of London, £10 1s. for four tuns of wine bought from him for the use of Eleanor, the King's consort, which had been given to her by the King when he was last at Langelegh.‡

The previous month, Edward had likewise sent two tuns of wine to Windsor for the use of his children there, and the high price paid for these, viz., £6, shows that it was of the best and most expensive kind procurable, since the usual price was then 40s. per tun. This wine, as well as £322 for 138 tuns taken from Elias de la Nande, in London, and £10 for the *cellarage* of same, and also £101 5s. for the wines taken from Reymund Aleman, merchant of Bordeaux, for the King's use, in all £439 5s., were to be paid by Orlandinus de Podio and his fellows, merchants of Lucca,§ out of the King's

\* Rot. Pat., 4 Ed. I., m. 3. 13th November, 1276.

† Rot. Pat., 5 Ed. I., m. 13. 3rd June, 1277.

‡ Rot. Pat., 5 Ed. I., m. 13. 5th June, 1277.

§ The following year they were

directed to pay for all wines taken by virtue of the *recta prisa*:

"Whereas the King deputed Matthew de Columbaris, the butler, to be taker of the King's wines in England, so that he should answer at the Exchequer like the takers,

money which they were to receive at the next fair of Boston,\* the royal dues of which were evidently farmed to them.

Bent on securing the greatest economy compatible with the royal dignity within his household, Edward bought comparatively little wine during the first years of his reign; but his attention at the same time was drawn to the fact that the *recta prisa*, or royal right to take two casks of wine from every wine-laden ship arriving at an English port where royal officers had been appointed to collect this tax, might be rendered far more productive. Upon inquiry, it was discovered that certain foreign and other merchants, instead of bringing their cargo to those ports where they were wont to come formerly and where the *recta prisa* was collected, had arranged to land their wines at some small towns on the coast, where no royal officers had ever been appointed to levy customs, and to send them on thence inland, to the great injury of the King.

A mandate was thus issued on June 20th, 1275, to Gregory de Rokesle and Poncius de Mora, buyers of the King's wines in England, or the persons supplying their place, to take the *recta prisa* from all wines brought into the town of Harwich (Erewico) and port of Erewell, where certain

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the King now for certain causes wills that wines of the right prise so taken by him be paid for by testimony of the Constable of the Tower of London, by Orlandinus de Podio and his fellows, merchants of Lucca, to wit, at the rate of twenty shillings a tun, to the mer-

chants from whom they are taken, and that the carriage thereof to divers places be also acquitted by them by testimony of the King's steward." 26th June, 1278.

Rot. Pat., 6 Ed. I., m. 9.

\* Rot. Pat., 5 Ed. I., m. 14. 24th and 27th May, 1277.



merchants had of late years taken their wines instead of on to Ipswich.\*

The King had previously issued strict orders that no person importing wine into England should wrongly claim to be exempt from submitting to the *recta prisa* on the plea of being the merchant of the barons of the Cinque Ports, who had "quittance of the said *recta prisa* from time out of mind," for their own wines.†

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acknowledged a debt of 400 marks for 100 casks of wine bought by Henry le Waleys, Mayor of Bordeaux.\*

The increasing number of Gascon merchants in the City and their overbearing manner gave grave offence to the citizens, who petitioned the King asking him to revoke the trading liberties granted to them in the past, which, they argued, were against the municipal liberties of the City.

This petition placed the King in a most embarrassing dilemma, as he was anxious to propitiate such an influential and wealthy corporation as the City of London, † but, at the same time, was eager to conciliate the Gascon barons, whose goodwill was indispensable to him in his war with France, and the Gascon merchants, whose wines and money were also of the greatest service to him.

To gain time and to show both parties how great was the interest he took in their respective causes, Edward wrote to the Seneschal of Gascony, asking him to inquire into the origin of the liberties of Gascon merchants and to forward a full report on the subject which would enable him (the King) to answer the City authorities and show cause why the Gascons should continue to enjoy their trading privileges.

This report reached Edward in due course and was transmitted to the City authorities, who, in their turn, sent back a strongly worded reply, which was communicated to the Seneschal at Bordeaux. This correspondence was more or less regularly kept up

\* Rot. Vasc., 10 Ed. I. m. 2.

† In 1278, the Mayor and Corporation of London had already been allowed to levy a special tax of 2d. on every cask of wine, and other taxes, to enable

them to repair the walls and enclosures of the City this tax was to be enforced from Christmas, 1278, until Christmas, 1281. Letter Book A, fol. 131 b.

during about twenty-three years, being brought to a close on August 13th, 1303, when the question was exhaustively and finally dealt with in a compromise between the King and the merchant-vintners of Aquitaine.\*

In the meantime, Edward had seized the liberties of the City, in 1285, and governed it by royal officers for thirteen years, during which the foreign trade of the Metropolis, freed from the municipal shackles by which it had been harassed, increased very rapidly, until the renewed outbreak of hostilities with France in 1294.

In 1293 a scuffle between some English and Norman sailors at Bayonne resulted in the death of one of the latter; his companions carried their complaint before the King of France, Philippe, who bade them take revenge and trouble him no more.† The Normans proceeded to immediate violence, and having seized an English ship in the Channel, they hanged several of the crew on the yard arm. The mariners of the Cinque Ports were not slow in avenging such an outrage, and, the French never losing an opportunity of seizing either English or Gascon ships, the sea became the scene of universal piracy, and maritime commerce was for a time completely paralysed.

The King even ordered, in 1296, that, for the time being, no merchant ship should venture out to sea on account of its insecurity.‡

\* *Compositio facta inter regem Anglie et mercatores vinetarios Ducatus Aquitanie super libertatibus quas ipsi mercatores debent habere in regno Anglie.* Livre des Bouillons, No. XLVIII., folio 50, recto.

† Walsingham, p. 58.

‡ Eodem anno quamplures marinarii de protestate regis Franciæ cum magno navigio et manu armata fluctuant per mare, mercatoribus de potestate regis Angliæ cum mercimonis suis transfretare

The immediate consequence of this recrudescence of piratical warfare was an almost complete cessation of commercial relations between England and the Continent, and, in 1297, Stow reports that there was "a great famine in England, chiefly a default of wine, that the same could scarcely be had to minister the communion with in the church." \*

Far from attempting to protect the menaced foreign trade of the nation, the City authorities, as soon as their charter had been restored to them by the King, in 1298, enforced the most vexatious ordinances, not only against the foreign merchants, but also preventing the barons of the Cinque Ports from selling their own wines in London, as had been their right for years past, and this, in spite of the severe remonstrances of the Archbishop of Canterbury and letters from the municipalities of Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney.†

volentibus plura damna fecerunt, propter quod dominus rex transitum maris ad tempus inhibuit per breve sub hac forma:

"Rex vicecomiti Norffolchiæ et Suffolchiæ salutem. Intelleximus quod quamplures inimicorum nostrorum, tam Flandorum quam aliunde de dominio et potestate regis Franciæ cum magno navigio et magna multitudine armatorum fluctuantes per mare, mercatoribus nostris cum lanis et aliis mercimoniis suis ad partes transmarinas volentibus se transire, continur insidiantur, et quasdam nantas lanis et aliis mercimoniis quorundam mercatorum nostrorum carcatas hostiliter invaserunt, et bona et mercimonia ceperunt et abduxerunt, et mercatores et alios nostros homines in navibus illis inventos occiderunt, etc. Bartholomai de Cotton. *Historia Anglicana*, edited by Henry Richards Luard. London, 1859. pp. 313, 314.

\* Stow. *Annals*, ed. 1592, p. 310. This great scarcity of wine in England is the only reason that can be found for the King's anger at the breakage of a certain cask of wine in the City, referred to in *Letter Book B*, fo. 34, August 1298.

† December 1298, *Letter Book C*, fo. xxvi. *Littera Archiepiscopi pro quinque portibus.* Letter from Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir Henry Le Galeys, Mayor of the City of London. Certain barons of the port of "Wynchele" (Winchelsea) had complained to the writer that whereas they had been of old accustomed to carry their wine to London for sale to anyone desirous of buying the same, the said Mayor had, during his last mayoralty, restricted the sale to freemen of the City, disregarding the sentences of excommunication promulgated with the King's sanction against those who act contrary

The barons of the Cinque Ports were evidently largely engaged in the wine trade, and many favours were showered on them by most English sovereigns for their services against the French and for the protection they were able to give to the ports on the south coast of England. Edward I., like his predecessor, had renounced in their favour his right of taking two casks of wine out of every wine-laden ship coming to England, whenever such wines belonged to any of the barons of the Cinque Ports and were to be sold by them.\*

One of the results of the objection taken by the City of London to the free trading of the Gascon merchants in the Metropolis was to divert much of the Bordeaux trade to the other ports of the kingdom.

Bristol and Hull were the chief centres of the wine trade in the provinces; there are numerous mentions of ships from Gascony due at Bristol,† and, in 1290, a special officer, Soricius the Fleming, was commissioned to levy taxes on all wines landed at Hull.‡ The following year, there is an entry in the Great Rolls of £78 2s. 10½d. paid by Gervase of

to certain articles of the great Charter of Liberties recently renewed by the lord the King, which charter provided (*inter alia*) that the barons of the Cinque Ports and all ports should enjoy their liberties and free customs as they were wont. It was unbecoming the Mayor's dignity to injure others in order to gain popular favour at the expense of his soul's health; he is exhorted therefore to abstain from committing such an injustice in future.

Letters on the same subject from the towns of Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney.

See Magna Carta, sect. 13.

"Quod omnes aliæ civitates et burgi et villæ et portus habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas."

\* Et quod de propriis vinis suis de quibus negociantur, quieti sint de recta prisâ nostra, videlicet de uno doleo vini ante malum et alio post malum. 17th June, 1278. Rot. Chart. 6 Ed. I. m. 2, in Ced. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 529.

† Rot. Vasc., 8. 9. 10 Ed. I., m. 3.

‡ Ch. Frost. Notices relative to the Early History of the town and port of Hull, etc. London, 1827, p. 20, note 3.

Clifton, Under-Sheriff of Yorkshire, for the carriage by land and by water, of 415 casks and two pipes of wine, sent from Hull to Brustwyk, Kowell, Knaresburgh, Hexwra, Alnwick, Berwick, and Norham.\*

In 1299, thirty casks of wine were sent from Hull to Hartlepool by order of Adam de Rokesle,† and four casks were sent from Kingston upon Hull to York and thence to Knaresburgh by Simon de Kyme, Sheriff of Yorkshire.‡

A few years later a Gascon merchant, Jean de Coygas, sued Arnaud de Wadite, of Kingston upon Hull, for the price of six casks of wine,§ and the following year Pierre Ayquem, writing to the King and styling himself "son marchaunt de Bordeaux," begged Edward II. to order that he shall be paid for twenty-eight casks and three pipes of wine at 60s. the cask, and also £11 5s. for freight of same, due to him by Arnald Michol de Besancion, who had bought them at Hull and happened to be then in prison.||

Exeter also was in the reign of Edward I., one of the ports frequented by Gascon merchants, but they ceased to come after 1312, when "Hugh Courtneie, Earl of Devon, built such mills and wears on the river"¶ as to stop all shipping, which had been a great source of revenue to the old city, where, until 1295, a special tax of 4d. per cask of red wine used to be levied.\*\*

The Earls of Devon practically forced all vessels

\* Mag. Rot. 19 Ed. I. Ebor. mentioned by Ch. Frost in Notices, etc., p. 106.

† Liber quotidianus, etc., fo. 53.

‡ Liber quotidianus, fo. 76.

§ Rot. Vasc., 13 and 14 Ed. II., m. 16 in dorso.

|| Petitions to the King and Parliament, Public Record Office,

173A. Rot. Parl., 1321-1322, 15 and 16, Ed. II., Vol. I., p. 409, col. 1.

¶ Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter, etc. London, 1681.

\*\* *Customia pro vinis solebat reddi de antiquo pro singulo dolio 4 denarii.* Exeter. Rot. 31. In Remarkable Antiquities, etc.

coming to Exeter to stop, load and unload, either at Exmouth or Topsham, where they had built their own quays and levied taxes for their own benefit; the decay of Exeter as a sea-port dates from that day.

Southampton, Portsmouth, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Rye, Lynn, Ipswich,\* were all ports of call for the Bordeaux merchants. In November, 1307, Edward I., to reward the services of Stephen Alard, no doubt a near relation of Gervase Alard, then Admiral of the Cinque Ports, appointed him collector of the customs on wines at Winchelsea and Rye. But even in some of the small Welsh coast towns the trade in wines must have been sufficiently important to make it worth their while for some Bordeaux merchants to obtain the freedom of the city, which gave them the advantage to trade freely in the place. Thus Bernard Auquer, burgess of Bordeaux, was also citizen of Caernarvon,† and Pierre de la Gride, merchant and citizen of Bordeaux, was citizen of Milton‡ (de Meletonia) and of London.

The closing years of the reign of Edward I. were marked by the same stringency of money that had characterised its beginning. Already, on November 11th, 1300, a grant with respect to the King's debts, amounting to £3,370 13s. 1½d. was made in favour of several merchants of Gascony for wine bought of them for the royal household by Adam de Rokesle, the King's butler.§ This grant, however, remained evidently without effect, since, on April 6th 1301, the King ordered that the issues of the lands of

\* Concerning the wine trade at Ipswich, see Appendix to this Chapter.

† Rot. Pat., 17 Ed. I., Pars. II., m. 9.

‡ Rot. Pat., m. 10.

§ Rot. Pat., 28 Ed. I., m. 2.



Edmund, late Earl of Cornwall, who had just died, should be used to satisfy his creditors, amongst whom were merchants of Bayonne and Gascony, the latter alone claiming £3,370 13s. 1½d. for wines supplied to the household.\*

Wine was bought to a very large extent by the King in 1300, much of which was used during the war with Scotland. At the same time an effort seems to have been made by Edward I. to appease his Gascon creditors; Adam de Rokesle, the King's Butler, paying £4,393 17s. 10d. for 1,411 casks and 10½ quarts which had been bought for the royal household, and £136 for 156 casks taken at different ports at this reduced rate in virtue of the King's *recta prisa*.† During that same year (1300), whilst Edward was in Scotland, the people of Drogheda sent him a present of 80 tuns of wine to Kirkcudbright, in a vessel belonging to their own port.‡

The following year, on April 3rd 1301, a mandate was issued to John Wogan, justiciary of Ireland, to purvey victuals and 200 tuns of new wine for the maintenance of the King and his company mustering at Berwick-on-Tweed, and of Edward, Prince of Wales, and his company, mustering at Carlisle, to set forth against the Scots after the truce granted them until Whitsunday had expired.§

Two years later, the King's credit was so low that some merchants of La Rochelle and other parts of France, having sold 102 tuns of wine at Sandwich to the King's use, for £288 18s. 6d., insisted

\* Rot. Pat., 29 Ed. I., m. 9.

† Liber quotidianus contra rotulitoris garderobæ, anno Regni Regis Ed. I., 28. Londini, 1787, p. 356.

‡ Craik. History of British Commerce, t. I., p. 154.

§ Rot Pat., 29 Ed. I., m. 19.

on obtaining bonds from Aymer de Valencia, the King's kinsman, lord of Montynak, and William Trente, the King's Butler, to whom Edward gave his promise to save them harmless.\*

In 1304, a mandate was issued to allow Peter Baleygue £245 for eighty-seven tuns of wine, bought of him in divers parts of England for the King's use by Adam de Rokesle, then butler, and William Trente, his attorney,† but there is no record that it was ever paid.

In 1305, £55 14s. 1d. was paid to Vitalis de la Tapye and £60 to Bertram de la Deils, merchant of Basaz, for wines bought from them by William Trente and Richard de Bremesgrave at the expense of the royal household; ‡ £71 1s. 9d. was also paid to Roger de Kelleneden for wines bought from him by Adam de Rokesle for the King's use three years previously.§

In 1306, Frisotus de Monte Claro, receiver in the Agenais, was ordered to pay to Arnal Lambert, John de Ferran, Bernard de Marsac, and Bernard de Gilver, all of London, £258 for wine bought from them by William Trente, the Butler.||

In the last year of his reign, Edward I. made great preparations for invading Scotland, and bought large quantities of wine for the use of his army. Richard de Havering, Constable of Bordeaux, was ordered to purvey out of the issues of the Duchy 200 tuns of wine to the King's use in the fresh rebellion of the Scots, and to cause them to be taken to Skynburnesse, by Ascension Day at latest, to James de

\* Rot. Pat., 31 Ed. I., m. 29.

† Rot. Pat., 32 Ed. I., m. 2.  
24th October, 1304.

‡ Rot. Pat., 33 Ed. I., m. 22.  
25th July, 1305.

§ Rot. Pat., 33 Ed. I., m. 22.  
8th August, 1305.

|| Rot. Pat., 34 Ed. I., m. 23.  
20th May, 1306.

Dalilegh, appointed to receive victuals in those parts.\*

At the same time, William Trente, the King's Butler, sent attorneys on a special mission to Gascony to buy wine for the Scotch rebellion, over and above the 200 tuns already commanded to be purveyed, and the Constable of Bordeaux was ordered to place at their disposal £500 out of the issues of the Duchy.†

John Wogan, justiciary of Ireland, who had already supplied the King with wine in 1301, was again ordered to purvey against the new Scotch rebellion, 200 tuns of wine, a moiety to be carried to Skynburnesse, and a moiety to Newcastle on Are, by Ascension Day at latest.‡

On the same day the bailiff of Holdernessee was also ordered to send to the King 100 tuns of wine, and the sheriffs of Gloucester forty tuns.‡

#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

##### EXTRACTS FROM THE DOMESDAY DE GIPPEWYZ.

Item use est en la dyte vyle qe les baillifs de meyme la vyle de an en an, en la sesoun entre veuz vyn e novel preygnent ovesques eux des meuz vavez (most substantial) de la vyle, e qil aillient cercher totes les tavernes e tutz les celers en la dite vyle, auxibien des privez com des estraunges, e par serement des bons e leaux gentz, taverners e autres, e par lour avisement demeyne sourveyent e tastent tutz les vynz qil troverunt en la dyte vyle en taverne ou en celer. E sil troevent nul qe seyt corumpu e perillous a beyvre pur cor de homme, ou par medler ovesques novel vyn, meyntenaunt saunz aver regard a nuly persone facent les ditz baillifs saker hors (draw off) meyme cel vyn jesques

\* Rot. Pat., 34 Ed. I., m. 34, 20th February, 1306.

† Rot. Pat., 34 Ed. I., m. 34, 23rd February, 1306.

‡ Rot. Pat., 34 Ed. I., m. 34, 1st March, 1306.

en la haut estree (street) e illeokes en comune veue desg entz dampner, e le tonel ou la pipe, ou quel vessel qe ceo seyt enfouner la vessele demeorge a les baillifs pur lour fe.—*Le Domesday de Gippevyz, cap. 82. De vyn corruptu dampner.*

Idem de ceux qe sunt appelez wyndragheres au cay de la dite vyle est ordene, qe le mestre e le sovereyn chevinteyn de cel office eyt desouth luy xii a cel office fere, pur le queux il roustra respoudre a gynder (unlading) les vyns qe venent a la dyte vyle, e pur herberger les (store them), e a fere ceo qe a cel office appert, issi qe nul autre ne se medle entre ceux de cel office saunz lour cunge, si ne seyt en defaute de eux meymes. E fet asaver, qil deyrent prendre de chescun tonel de vyn pur le gynder e pur herberger le sour meyme le cay ou il est gynde e pur coucher le tonel, ijd. E si le tonel seyt heberge en celer ou en taverne joygnaunt a meyme le cay qe passe le real chemin, ijd. ob. E pur tutz autres luz plus foreyn, iiid. E pur chescun tonel de vyn qe seyt a burgeys de la dite vyle charge sour carette e descharge en meyme la vyle, iid. ob. E si le tonel seyt descharge en celer par fund, iiid. E de chescun tonel de vyn qe seyt a burgeys denzeyn lottaunt e escottaunt a meme la vyle, qe seyt charge e mene hors de la vyle, iid. De chescun foreyn burgeys que ne seyt pas lottaunt ne escottaunt com peer e comuner, e de chescun autre foreyn, iiid. E bien se ayvse le chevinteyn dil office avaunt dyt qe les xii qe serunt de south luy a fere meyme le office, qil seyent teux qe sachent e pount bien e sagement le dit office fere; Kar si nul tonel de vyn perice ou autre damage aveygne entre lour meyns par lour defaute, le dit chevinteyn respoudra pur le damage. E eyt il soun recourir ver ceux qe le dit office unt enpris desouth luy pur lour defaute sure si il roillie ver eux, solom ley e usage de la vyle, e si nul de eux seyt rebel e contrariaunt a soun sovereyn, issi qil ne voillie soun office fere auxi com affeert, eyt son sovereyn poer de enouster cely, e mettre un autre en soun lu pur gi il roudra respoudre.—*Le Domesday de Gippewyz, cap 83, De Beremen. Cf. Black Book of the Admiralty, Vol. II., p. 176, 178.*

Also it is used in the forseyd toun that the ballives of the same toun, from yer to yere, in the same toun, in the sesoun bytwixen elde wyne and newe, shul takyn with hem of the best vynteres of the toun, and they shal goon and serchyn of all the tavernys and the celerys of the toun, as weel of privy as of

straunge, and by other of good and trewe taverneres and of other men, and by avysement of hem self, they shal tasten all the olde wynys that they fyndyn in the toun in taverne or in celer. And if they fyndyn any wyn that be corrupt and perlous to drynkyn for manys body, or for to medelyn with newe wyn, anon with out havynge reward to any persone, the ballives of the toun shal doo shakyn out that wyn in the hie strete, and there in comoun sight of men dampnyn the tunne or the pipe, and the vessell shal (duelle) to the baillifs for her fee.—*The Domus Day of Gippeswich.*

Also of hem that ben clepyd wyn draweres at the cay of the forseyd toun, it is ordeyned that the maister and the soverayn cheyventan of that offys shal have undyr hym xij. to that offys to done, or which he shal wyllyn answere, to gyen the wyne that comyn to the forseyd toun, and for to herberwyn hem, and to doo that longyth to her office, so that non other medele a monge hem of that offis with oute he leve, so that it be not put in the defaute of hem selff. Also they owyn to take of every tunne wyn for to gyen it and to herberwyn it of that same cay (where it is hoisted, and to lay it down) ij d. And yif the tunne be herberwyd in celer or in taverne neygh joynynge the same cay, so that it passe the kynges weve, ij d. ob. And for alle other led ferther thanne, iij d. And for every tunne that ys a bur[g]leysys of the same toun charged on carte or discharged in the same toun, ijd. ob. And yif it be discharged in a depe celer, iij d. And of a tunne that is [to] a bur[g]leysys [withinne] lottyng and scottyng [to the same toun, that be charged and] led out of the toun, ij d. Of every foreyn burgeys that ys not lottyng ne skottyng as per and comoun. And of every other foreyn, iij d. And wel aryse hym the chetayne of the forseyd offys that the xij men, the which shul ben undyr hym to doon the same office, that they ben suche that cunnyn and moun weel and wysely to doone the same office ; for yif any tunne of wyn perysshe or any other damage come to among her handys by her defaute, the forseyd cheventayn shal answeyn for the harme ; and he shal have his recüre ayens hem that han undyrtakyn the forseyd offys vudyr hym for her defaute, yif he wil pursuyn to hem after the lawe and usage of the forseyd toun. And yif any of hem ben rebelle and contraryous to his soverayn, so that he will not doone his office as he oweth to doon, thanne his soverayn may put hym off, and put an other in his stede for which he wil answere.

## CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD I. died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, on the 7th July, 1307, and the stores and the considerable quantity of wine he had provided for his intended campaign into Scotland were soon dissipated by the soldiery. A hasty and ineffectual march across the border was all that came of the great preparations of the late King to subdue his Scottish foe. His son, now Edward II., soon left the army to claim his bride, Isabel, the only daughter of Philip, King of France, to whom he had been affianced in his father's lifetime, and whom he married in 1308 at Boulogne. A standing army was nevertheless maintained to protect the North from Berwick to Carlisle, and although most of the knights who had been called to arms by Edward I. left his successor to return to their own castles, or to follow him to London and Boulogne, the strength of this was sufficient to insure the security of the Border counties. The King found it necessary to provide for it, in June, 1308, 600 tuns of wine, which were to be paid by Henry de Say, the Butler, out of the issues of the new custom on wines, in the ports of London, Boston, Kingston-upon-Hull, Bristol, and elsewhere; 200 casks were to be sent to Carlisle and 400 to Berwick-on-Tweed.\*

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\* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. II., Part II., m. 3.

Bent on inaugurating his reign in a magnificent fashion in contrast to the perforcedly modest establishment kept by the late King during the latter part of his reign, Edward II. ordered no less than 1,000 casks of good wine of Gascony for the festivities of his coronation. This wine was to be collected by the Seneschal of Gascony and delivered to the royal Butler in time for the coronation;\* the merchants of the Friscobaldi Company, of Florence, were ordered to pay for this unusually large quantity out of the revenues of the Duchy of Aquitaine, which were, at the time, farmed out to them.†

Surrounded by foreign favourites,‡ and priding himself on his lavishness and the gaiety of his court, the young King was from the first in need of both money and wine; he had hoped to find in the wine trade such men as those wealthy Bordeaux merchants who had supplied both his father and grandfather with wines and ready money, men who would prove willing lenders and eager purveyors of the royal cellars. His hopes were, however, soon dispelled; the Gascon merchants absolutely refused to supply him until his father's debts had been paid in full, the royal credit being at its lowest ebb in Aquitaine, where the numerous loans placed by the late King with municipalities as well as private individuals were still unredeemed.

Realising the importance and the urgency of satisfying his father's creditors, Edward ordered that

\* Rot. Litt. Pat. I. Ed. II., m. 18.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. II., Pars I. London, 1818, p. 7.

‡ Piers Gaveston was the most obnoxious of these favourites; he had been created Earl of Cornwall by Edward II., who granted in fee, to him and his wife, the prisage of

wines in the ports of Dartmouth and Exmouth, and in the pools of Eashe and Sutton, in the county of Devon, viz., for each shipload two casks of wine, to be paid 20s. sterling to the merchants. *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, 4 Ed. II., Part II., m. 4.

the revenues arising from all vacant ecclesiastical livings should be applied to the payment of sums borrowed by his father from towns and merchants of Aquitaine "who kindly lent him of their own, when he stood in great need, during his war in Gascony against the King of France."\* But the revenues arising from this source were either too difficult to collect or already mortgaged; they did not prove sufficiently productive, and a percentage of the proceeds of the customs levied at Southampton was directed to be devoted to the extinction of the royal debts. This proving also insufficient, the King alienated in favour of his creditors the taxes on hides and wool charged at Ipswich. These devices which the monarch was forced to have recourse to, owing to the disordered state of his Exchequer, were not only undignified, but also ineffectual, and the debts of Edward I. to Gascon traders were never finally paid off until the reign of Edward III., who, on his accession to the throne, devoted the proceeds of the customs of Southampton and Kingston-upon-Hull to their ultimate settlement.†

Having, however, succeeded in paying off part of the long outstanding debts of his father, Edward II. was able to obtain further supplies of wine and credit from his loyal subjects of Aquitaine. On September 3rd, 1311, the King commanded the then Seneschal of Aquitaine and the Constable of Bordeaux to buy for his use, in the said Duchy and out of its issues, a thousand tuns of wine which were to be sent with all speed to London; he,

\* *Qui bonement lui presterent  
le leur, a ses grantz besoignes, en  
temps de sa guerre de Gascoigne  
contre le roi de France.*

† Rot. Vasc., I. Ed. III., m. 5.



afterwards, ordered Master Jordan Morant, then Constable of Bordeaux, to expedite the purchase and despatch of this wine so that it should be delivered to the King's Butler at London before Christmas, 1312 (6 Edward II.), and in such a manner as he should be told by Stephen de Berecote, the Butler's deputy. The said Stephen was to deliver to the Constable of Bordeaux letters patent, certifying the cost incurred by him in the purchase and carriage of the wine, for which due allowance would be made in the accounts. Although Stephen de Berecote had merely been deputed to conclude this purchase, all expenses being at the charge of the King, the mariners who brought the wine, having failed to obtain payment of the freight due to them thereon, harassed the said Stephen and seized his goods in several places, as if the purchase had been made in his name. When the unfortunate deputy Butler petitioned the King for redress, ten years after the transaction had taken place, Edward, instead of paying the money that was owing, contented himself with commanding all sheriffs and bailiffs to release from arrest such goods of the said Stephen which had been arrested for the freight due, the King not wishing him to be injured on his account.\*

In 1312, some merchants of Agen having pressed their claim to a sum of £146 7s. 4d. due to them partly on account of wine supplied to Edward II. and partly for wine supplied to his father, the King granted to them the issues of the custom on wool, hides and woolfells in the port of Chichester, to be received by them from the collectors of the

\* July 22nd, 1322. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 16 Ed. II., Part I., m. 27 d.

customs there until complete satisfaction of their debt.\* In that year, the King also seized some pretext to impose on the City of London a fine consisting in the payment of his debts for wine to the merchants of Aquitaine.†

In 1313, 170 tuns of the King's wines were carried away at Boston by rioters, an indemnity being granted to Peter de Scorece on that account.‡ In the following year, great preparations were made by the King for his war in Scotland, Walter Waldeshef, the Butler, sending Bernard de la Rochele to the South, and Alexander de Watfor towards the North, both with orders to buy wines for the King's use.§ In the same year, Queen Isabella obtained a royal writ of aid, until Midsummer, in favour of Ranulf de Lugteberkes, whom she sent to purvey wine, ale and other necessities for the office of buttery of her household.||

The disastrous battle at Bannockburn, on June 25th, 1314, the famine which desolated Britain in 1315, and a first insurrection of the Welsh, left Edward little leisure and no money to procure wine until 1316. His credit was so low in the country that the King was unable to purchase any, although he made an effort at that time to pay some of his Gascon creditors, the merchants of the Society of the Bardi, of Florence, paying £225 6s. 8d. to Arnold de

\* December 8th, 1312. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 6 Ed. II., Part I., m. 8.

The detail of this debt is given as follows: £53 6s. 8d. arrears of £280 due for 160 tuns bought by Edward I; £72 15s. 8d. for wine bought for the household for the use of Edward II., and £20 5s. for seven tuns also for the Royal household.

† Rot. Vasc., 4 and 5 Ed. II., m. 6, 9, 11, 17, 19. Cf. Rot. Vasc., 6 Ed. II., Part I., m. 10, 15, 17, 18.

‡ 20th August, 1313. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 7 Ed. II., Part I., m. 16. 27th July, 1314. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 8 Ed. II., Part I., m. 30.

|| 28th April, 1314. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 7 Ed. II., Part II., m. 13.

Forsye and Arnold de Garumbal, merchants of Gascony, for 54 tuns of wine, and £110 8s. 4d. to Vidal de la Sube for 24 tuns and 5 pipes of wine supplied to the King for the use of his household.\*

The unfortunate monarch had, however, the mortification not only to be refused supplies† of wine for which he promised to pay, but also to be cheated out of his right prise of wines,‡ owing to dissaffected spirit then prevalent in the realm, and which rendered the execution of royal mandates very precarious.

On June 8th, 1319, a writ of aid was issued for Stephen de Abyndon, the King's Butler, going to divers ports and places to receive the accounts of his deputies and to levy the arrears of such accounts, as the King had been informed that the deputies of the said Stephen in divers ports and places had made prises of wine and sold to others that for which they ought to account with him.§

Edward decided to deal direct with his Gascon subjects and to purchase his wines in Aquitaine. In

\* 22nd July, 1316. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 10 Ed. II., Part I., m. 34.

† On March 22nd, 1317, a mandate was issued to all sheriffs and others to arrest John Curteys, master of a ship called *La Nicholas of Suth Jernemuth*, which had lately put into Portsmouth; Stephen de Abyndon, the King's Butler, had taken two tuns of wine from the ship for the King's prise, and had bought from the said John Curteys thirty tuns and eleven pipes of wine for the King's use, and caused each tun to be marked with the usual (Royal) mark, but the said John had secretly taken away his ship and the wine against the will of the said Stephen. Calend. Patent Rolls, 10 Ed. II., Part II., m. 23.

‡ On October 27th, 1315, Richard de Walsingham and Richer de Refham were commissioned to inquire how many ships laden with wine for sale had, since the King assumed the governance of the realm, put into the port of Blakeneye, in Norfolk, and discharged their cargoes there; and whether any merchants after such unlading have departed without first satisfying the King of his right prise of the said wine. Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 9 Ed. II., Part I., m. 12 d.

§ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. II., part II., m. 7.

the autumn of 1316, safe conducts were given, amongst others, to Richard Golde, master of *La Petre*, Thomas Sprynget, master of *La Margarete*, Little John (*Parvus Johannes*), master of *La Michel*, and Roger Catour, master of *La Blithe*, all of Westminster, whom the King was sending to Aquitaine for wines to be brought to him in England before the following Easter.\*

Soon after, however, a *knight of Genoa*, Anthony Pessaigne by name, a man with evidently a speculative turn of mind, offered to the King, who accepted readily, to purvey 2,600 tuns of wine at £4 sterling a tun for the war against Scotland.† How and where the Genoese was to receive the £10,400 promised to him by the King for this supply is not recorded, but, evidently as a reward for his generosity, he was appointed Seneschal of Gascony the following year, and the bargain thus concluded must have been a profitable one for him, since, before leaving England he granted to the King 5,000 quarters of wheat and 730 pipes of wine for the provisioning of Berwick-on-Tweed and of other places in the North, and for the use of the household. After the departure of the donor, the persons whom he had appointed to deliver to the King the wheat and wine, then at Sandwich, refused to do so, and removed the same elsewhere, Edward having to send one of his clerks to take possession.‡

In the previous month, part of the wine contracted for by Anthony Pessaigne had been delivered to the receiver of victuals at Berwick-upon-Tweed,

\* 24th September, 1316. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 10 Ed., II. Part I. m. 20.

† 16th December, 1316. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 10 Ed. II. Part II, m. 36.

‡ 6th December, 1317. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 11 Ed. II. Part I., m. 21.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Tower of London, the Castle of Windsor, the Castle of Wallingford, and the *Park* of Windsor; fifty pipes had also been diverted for the use of G. cardinal priest of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and of Luke, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata.\*

In the meantime, the mission sent to Gascony in the autumn of 1316, had been very successful, the inhabitants of Bordeaux and St. Macaire having given Edward a further supply of 1,400 casks of wine for his use during the Scottish War, and the King immediately sent instructions for the conveyance of this wine to England.†

It is certainly matter for some surprise that such considerable quantities of wine should have been deemed necessary for the royal army carrying on more or less desultory fighting in the North during the greater part of Edward the Second's reign. Besides the 2,600 tuns provided by A. Pessaigne, the 1,400 casks given by the citizens of Bordeaux, the proceeds of the right prise and fines in nature, the number of tuns purchased by the King in 1317 and 1318 was very large. On the 15th of March, 1318, the King acknowledged owing £1,484 6s. 10½d. to several merchants of Gascony for wines bought in 1316 and 1317, £140 8s. 6d. for wines bought

\* 30th October and 5th November, 1317. Pat. Rolls, 11 Ed. II., Part I., m. 17, 18.

† 12th June, 1317. Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. I., p. 194.

How this wine was obtained by the Mayor, jurats and Commonalty of Bordeaux to be presented to the King is recorded in the MS. No. 21 in the Library of J. R. Ormsby Gore, Esq., M.P., at Brogynsyn, co. Salop; they made one Arnald de Totio Moto and

three others contribute 112 casks and William Sauns du Miralle 138 casks as their portions, keeping them in prison until they had submitted to this exaction, so that the municipal authorities of Bordeaux reaped the benefit of their loyal gift in the shape of royal favours, whilst they had really compelled a few foreign merchants to supply the wine. *Fourth report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, pp. 385, 387, 388.

by Stephen de Abyndon, the Butler, at Boston, in August, 1317, and £84 12s. 10d. for wine bought there in the preceding month of July, in all £1,709 8s. 2½d.\*

No date as to the future payment of this sum follows its acknowledgment by the King, but the monarch states that, as the said merchants and others with them (whose names are given) have undertaken to purvey 300 more casks of wine at six marks (£4) a cask, before Easter next, for the use of the royal household, the King, in consideration of the losses which they would suffer through probable protracted payments, and also in consideration of the 300 casks of wine they were to supply, grants them 400 marks "*of his gift, to be received amongst themselves according to their discretion.*" This gift of the impecunious monarch to his creditors is not without humour, and it was followed by a promise to pay the £1,709 7s. 2½d. and the 1,800 marks owing, £2,909 7s. 2½d. in all, out of the first term of payment of the tenth, imposed by the Pope on the clergy of the realm; another touch of irony was added when the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter were directed to make the above payments, they being collectors of the tenth.†

The above recognizance of a debt for wine amounting to nearly £3,000 sterling was followed in the same year (1318) by another one of £1,834 16s. 8d. for sixteen separate purchases of wine

\* The details of the sums due to Gascon merchants show that they were wealthy men; the amounts due to each of them, and which they must have known they could not expect to receive for some years, were very large for the time,

viz., £125, 1s. 9d.; £59 18 4d.; £317 9s. 4d.; £270 12s. 8d.; £106 19s. 10d.; £211 18s.; £35 18s. 8d.; £36 5s. 6½d.; £51 12s.; £51 18s.; £42 12s. 5d.; £173 19s. 4d.

† Calend. Pat. Rolls, 11 Ed. II., Part II., m. 29.

from Gascon merchants, with a promise that payment should follow within about a month.\*

The bad example set by the monarch of delaying indefinitely the payment of his debts was unfortunately followed by some of his subjects, and many Gascon merchant-vintners, to whom large sums were due in England, petitioned the King, asking him to order that all bailiffs should enforce the payment of what they could show was due to them; but Edward, evidently sympathising with his impecunious subjects, refused to give any such order, and simply referred the Gascons to the common law of the land.†

Not satisfied with the considerable purchases of wine effected from Gascon traders, the King sent Stephen de Abyndon to Boston to buy wines for his account, which wines were to remain in the custody of the merchants and of the bailiffs of Boston, until the vendors or others on their behalf, should come to Master John Walewayn, the Treasurer, to obtain the price thereof, and *he will satisfy them therein*. Richard de la Pole was at the same time sent to Kingston-upon-Hull on a like mission.‡

The mere fact that the King decreed that merchants should not part with the wine they had sold to him until they had been paid by the treasurer,

\* Viz. before Michaelmas, the acknowledgment being dated August 10th, 1318. Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 12 Ed. II., part I., nr. 27. £281 10s.; £80; £138; £44; £97 10s.; £92; £22; £279 16s. 8d.; £281 10s.; £67 13s. 4d.; £71 13s. 4d.; £22; £112 10s.; £43 6s. 8d.; £63 6s. 8d.; £138.

† Rot. parl. 15 and 16 Ed. II. No. 113. Vol. I., p. 406, col. 2.

‡ Calend. Pat. Rolls, 12 Ed. II., Part I., m. 32. The preceding

year, on the 14th of March, 1318 a mandate had been issued, in accordance with the King's proclamation against purveyance, and in the hope it would induce more vintners to come to England, which decreed that neither wines nor other goods be taken from the merchant vintners of the Duchy of Aquitaine, or from other persons. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 11 Ed. II., Part II., m. 25d.

shows how little confidence there must have been in the ability of the sovereign to pay for what he purchased; in fact, some of the merchant-vintners thought so little of the honour of supplying His Majesty and considered Edward such a bad risk, that, in spite of the royal assurance that the treasurer would *satisfy them therein*, they actually removed their casks and pipes at the approach of the King's Butler. This unpatriotic behaviour was the subject of a commission of oyer and terminer called forth to inquire "touching the merchant-vintners, who with their wine withdrew from the town of Boston, when the King sent Stephen de Abyndon, his Butler, to purvey wine for his use, whereby his butler was unable to procure the wine."\*

In spite of this insult to his dignity, the King generously ordered a distribution of forty tuns of wine among the knights and others of Northumberland who had been impoverished by the incursions of the Scots.†

The defeat of Edward's army, in 1319, by the Scots, at Myton-on-Swale, and the open rebellion of the barons which broke out then, completed the ruin of the royal credit, which was not even restored by the victory gained by the King at Boroughbridge in 1322, over the revolted nobles, followed by the execution of Lancaster and the re-establishment of the authority of the Sovereign by the Parliament of York.

There are only very few mentions of any further purchases of wine by Edward, in England, from the year 1318 until his death, in 1327,

\* 15th August, 1318. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 12 Ed. II., Part I., m. 27d.

† Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. I., p. 201. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 12 Ed. II., part I., m. 12.



and no trace can be found of payments of what had been bought in 1317 and 1318.

In May 1320, the King being about to cross the sea, ordered his butler, Stephen of Abyndon, to go and provide wine for him on his journey abroad,\* Richard de Norton being sent on a similar errand a few days later.†

In 1321, a safe conduct was granted, until Whit-Sunday, for Edmund Guarel, going with the King's ship, called *la Blith* of Westminster, to Gascony to purvey wines for the King.‡

Stephen of Abyndon succeeded, in 1320, in buying wines for the King's use from twenty-four Guienne and Gascony merchants to the value of £1,545 18s. 3d. ; this sum was to be paid out of the proceeds of taxes and tolls on outward bound ships passing the Castle of L'Ombrière, outside Bordeaux. § The King's creditors being, however, unable to obtain any money from that source, the customs of Marmande were first granted to them, then those of Agen ; this being still insufficient, and the merchants pressing their claim with great vigour, Edward thought he would appease them by the gift of an extra 300 marks, to compensate them for the delay they had suffered. This gift was to come out of the revenues of Guienne, but as these were already mortgaged, it remained without effect. Annoyed at the incessant demands of these last creditors, the King cancelled his former gift of 300 marks and there is no record to show that the

\* 28th May, 1320. Calend. Pat. Rolls. 13 Ed. II., m. 6.  
† 5th June, 1320. Calend. Pat. Rolls. 13 Ed. II., m. 6.

‡ 20th August, 1321. Calend. Pat. Rolls. 15 Ed. II., Part I., m. 19.  
§ Rot. Vasc. 13 et 14 Ed. II., m. 2.

*povres marchauntz vinetors de Gascoigne* were ever paid at all.\*

If the Gascon vintners were treated with little courtesy in London, there is every reason to believe that a similar treatment awaited those English merchants who ventured to go to Bordeaux for wine. There is an instance of a man named John Rose, of Greenwich, who was about to leave Bordeaux, in 1319, with a cargo of wine in his ship, the *Michael of London*, when he was seized and thrown into irons by order of the Keeper of the Castle of L'Ombrière; he produced a safe-conduct granted to him by the King, to whom he appealed, but although the monarch ordered that he should be released forthwith,† the poor man was still in prison a year later. William Prodhomme, citizen and merchant of London, who had entrusted Rose with a good deal of money to buy wines in Bordeaux on his account, obtained his release eventually, after numerous and probably costly applications.‡

There existed throughout the Middle Ages, a readiness on the part of the nobles and of the Commons to take advantage of any weakness in the government of their ruler. It would seem indeed that there was no alternative between a strong and practically despotic government and anarchy. Edward II. was, unfortunately for England, a weakling totally unsuited to wield the sceptre during the troubled times in which he lived, and incapable of maintaining order throughout the realm.

\* Rotuli parliamentorum. A.D. 1321 and 1322. 15 and 16 Ed. II., vol. I., p. 406, col. 1. Cf. Francisque Michel. Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux. Vol. I., pp. 112, 113.

† Rot. Vasc. 13 et 14 Ed. II., m. 1.

‡ Rot. Vasc. 15 et 16 Ed. II., m. 20 in dorso.

The wine trade suffered greatly from this weakness of the Sovereign, particularly so in London where the City, so jealous of its privileges, saw an opportunity of suppressing the ancient rights enjoyed by the Bordeaux merchants.

In 1309, the Gascons, whose business was greatly hampered in London by the interference of the City's authorities, applied to the King for redress. Edward wrote to the Mayor, asking him the reason of the City's intolerance, and the answer was that the charters which had been granted to the Gascons by Edward I. had ceased to have any effect at the death of this monarch.\*

The merchants of Aquitaine then deputed a certain number of their fellows to take the necessary steps to procure the renewal of their trading liberties, and these men spent £600 to obtain from the King a confirmation of the charters which had been granted to them by his father, specifying the divers liberties and immunities they were entitled to; as it was only just that what was for the common good should be at the common expense, these merchants obtained, the following year, the King's permission to levy a tax upon all Gascon wines imported into the kingdom, until they had recouped themselves.†

The renewal of their charters, although it had been costly to obtain, proved of very little practical use to the Bordeaux vintners in the City. Unable to obtain justice or Edward's effective protection, they defended their rights by force in the City itself, and the broils which ensued caused the King to send

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\* Delpit. Collect. génér. des documents français, etc., p. 42. No. LXXXIV.

† Calend. of Pat. Rolls. 4 Ed. II., Part I., m. 13.

a special commissioner of the peace to maintain order ; he issued at the same time several decrees and ordinances which, however, seem to have been little heeded by either party.\*

Such an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the City, together with the taxes and duties illegally levied by the Exchequer officials, resulted in an alarming increase of the price of wine and of most other imported commodities.

In the Parliament of 1309, the Commons complained of this advance of prices, and the barons, eager to buy wine and fine cloth cheap, supported and obtained the abolition of all new duties. Two years later, after a prolonged struggle, the repeal of the principal clauses of the *Carta Mercatoria* was also procured, as infringing the Great Charter.

As regards the wine trade, the disputes in the City resulted in a fresh batch of legislative measures, embodied in the Charter of 1311 ; this document stated that the dearness of wine could no longer be tolerated and that nobody should dare speculate in this commodity, the King's Butler included, who was strictly forbidden to buy more wine than was wanted for the royal household. All wine coming into England was to be gauged, assayed, and marked by royal officers, and it was not to be sold by retail at more than fivepence per gallon for the best quality, fourpence for the next best, and threepence for the commoner wine ; the quality and value of each cask was to be determined by a special jury of eight or twelve good and lawful men chosen by the Mayor and Aldermen. It was further ordained that no

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\*Delpit. *Collect. génér. des documents français, etc.*, pp. 43-44. Nos xc., xci., xcii.

wholesale wine merchant should keep a tavern, directly or indirectly; further, that the lees of good wine might be put into casks containing commoner wine, but that the droppings from the tap should always be thrown right away, etc.\*

This charter was not favourably received by the vintners and Gascon merchants, and it did not put a stop to their quarrels in the City; the King sent order after order that traders should not be molested, but he was too weak to enforce their execution and the City always found means of eluding them.

On March 26th, 1315, the King sent a writ *alias* to the Sheriffs, bidding them to restore the wine belonging to some Gascon merchants which had been unlawfully seized, and not to molest them pending the settlement of certain disputes that had arisen. The return to this writ was to the effect that "whereas, according to the franchise and custom of the City, it was not permissible for a merchant stranger to sell wine and other victuals or other goods to another merchant stranger for re-sale, except to magnates and others, and whereas a certain Gerard Dorgoil, a merchant stranger, sold a cask of wine to William de Eltham, a foreign retail dealer, to be sold again, contrary to the franchise and custom of the City, they had seized the cask as forfeited, and that was the reason why they could not surrender the cask to the said Gerard, without prejudicing the franchise of the City."†

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\* Calendar of Letter Books. Letter Book D., fo. cxvii. See full text in the Appendix.

† Letter Book E., fo. xxxii. Printed in Delpit, *Collection des Documents*, etc., pp. 48, 49. Nos. xciv. c., ci. See also pp. 44, 45.

A similar writ brought to the Sheriffs by some Gascon merchants in April 13th, 1315, elicited from them a similar reply.

On May 30th, 1315, the King sent a writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs for proclamation to be made that all vintners and taverners selling wine by retail in the City and suburbs should take no more than 3d. a gallon under a heavy penalty.\*

Representations having been made to the King that at the price at which wine had been bought by retailers, before the date of this decree, it could not possibly be sold at so low a figure without great loss, another writ was issued on the 6th of October, 1315, to the effect that the wine that was then in the City and the wine imported after the date of the writ might be sold wholesale or by retail at a reasonable price.†

The rate of 3d. a gallon was soon recognised to be impracticable and the maximum price at which wine was to be sold was fixed once more at 5d. per gallon, a rate which seems to have been little remunerative to the London taverners, since many of these were fined for charging more.

Henry de St. Antonine, taverner, was called to answer a charge of having sold a gallon of wine at Christmas, 1316, for 6d., contrary to the ordinance which declared that no taverner of the City should sell wine by retail for more than 5d. a gallon, etc. The said Henry came, confessed his guilt, and put himself on the mercy of the Mayor and Aldermen; judgment was given that, inasmuch as the said Henry had sold a gallon of wine out

\* Letter Book E., fo. xxxb. Rymer's *Fœdera*. Vol. II., part I., p. 268.

† Letter Book E., fo. xxxi.

of a cask at a penny more than was lawful, he should sell the remainder of the cask at 4d. a gallon and bring the money into Court to be dealt with as the Court should decide. Afterwards, viz., on Tuesday before the feast of St. Hilary (13th January) following, the said Henry came and asked the favour of the Mayor touching the said money: thereupon the money was delivered to him on condition that if he should be again convicted of selling wine at 6d. a gallon, when that was not the price current throughout the City, he should forfeit 100s. to the Commonalty.\*

With the exception of a mandate sent to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London and Bristol on June 21st, 1319, the wine trade was not afflicted by any new legislation until the year 1321. This mandate had been obtained by the merchants of Gascony, and although of comparatively little importance,† it had cost them £80 to obtain; they were, however, allowed to levy a tax on their compatriots coming to England with wine in order to recoup themselves.‡

By the charter of 1321, it was ordered that the best wine should not be sold for more than 3d. the gallon, and the commoner wine not more than 2d.

\* Letter Book E., fo. lviib.

† It provided that, as the merchant vintners were unable to dispose of all their wines in London (and Bristol) during a time when a great many of the *magnates* and others who used to buy from them were in the North "for the hosting of the war in Scotland," these said merchants were to be allowed to carry their wines to the King, who desired that wine and other victuals for the maintenance of his lieges, who are going on his service on the said expedition, may be brought in

plenty to the ports where he shall be. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. II., part II., m. 1.

‡ 13th July, 1319. Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 13 Ed. II., m. 43.

Similar permission was granted to the vintners of Gascony, on 5th April, 1323, to levy by their proctors on their fellows coming to the realm with wine, contributions to the amount of 200 marks for the prosecution of their affairs of common utility within the realm. Cal. of Pat. Rolls, 16 Ed. II., p. II., m. 14.

The Mayor, Aldermen, Viscounts, and twelve *prud'hommes* of the City were to enforce this assize; no member of this special jury was to be engaged in the wine trade; they were to mark all wines with a special mark for the best and with another mark for the commoner wine; no cask of wine was to be drawn before it had been thus tried and marked by these assessors and according to their verdict. Every consumer had a right to see each cask and to see his wine drawn.\*

This measure was very much resented by the London wine merchants, who ignored it completely, and were all fined in the summer of that same year twenty marks each for refusing to let the buyers see their wine drawn. It was further ordered that no wine merchant should prevent any man from going to the head of the cask to see for himself, and every measure used was to bear the seal of the Alderman.† In order that persons of bad character loitering about the City at night might have no place of resort for the concocting of criminal designs, it

\* Et qe le meillur galoun de vin ne soit plus cher vendu que pur iii deniers, et qe esluz soient et ordenez par les avaunt ditz Meire, Audermans, et Viscountes, xii pro-deshommes de la dite cite, agarder ceste assise qe ne soient grossours de vin ne taverners. Et qe deux merks soient ordenez par le dit Meire, Audermans, et Viscountes, a mercher les toneux, cest asavoir, lun merke put le meillur vin, et l'autre pur le comun vin; et qe nul tonel soit mis abroche devaunt qe il soit assaie et merche par les avaunt ditz gardeins, qi a ceo serrount ordenez. Et qe chescun acatour puisse ver trere le vin qil devera acater, et le merke del tonel, issint qil puisse estre assertez

del foer; et qe cele vewe ne soit nie a nul acatour.

Liber Custumarum. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis. Vol. II., part I., pp. 303, 304. 14 Ed. II.

† Die Veneris proximo post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, anno xiv, omnes vinetarii Londoniarum, amerciati fuerunt ad xx marcas, eo quod non permittebant homines videre trahi vinum eorum sic venditum. Et proclamatum fuit, quod nemo ex vinetarius perturbet hominem aliquem videre, et ire ad caput tonelli; et quod potellus, quarta et lagena sint sigillatæ sigillis Aldermannorum.

Liber Custumarum. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis. Vol. II., part I., p. 425. 14 Ed. II.



was also enacted that all wine-taverns should be shut at the hour of Curfew, viz., eight at night.\*

The reign of Edward II., like that of every weak monarch, was characterised by a recrudescence of outrages at sea.

No fact in the naval history of the 13th and early part of the 14th centuries is more remarkable than the piratical habits of the sailors of this and other countries. During a truce or peace, ships were boarded, plundered, and captured by vessels of a friendly power, as if there had been actual war. Even English merchant-ships were attacked and robbed, as well in port as at sea, by English vessels, and especially by those of the Cinque Ports, which seem to have been nests of robbers. Judging from the numerous complaints recorded, it would appear that a general system of piracy existed which no Government was strong enough to restrain. Remonstrances and demands for satisfaction were constantly made by one sovereign or another, for some aggression committed against his subjects at sea; and when justice was not obtained, letters of marque and reprisals were granted, which were, in fact, permission for individuals to take the law into their own hands, and to obtain compensation for their own private injuries from any innocent countryman of the aggressor.† Many of these lawless proceedings were directed against wine merchants.

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\* *Qe nul Taverner teigne huis overt apres Curfew sone, sur peyno de demimark. De Vinetariis et Wynedrawers, et pretio vinorum, etc. Liber Albus, vol. IV., fo. 332b.,*

*also Riley, vol. I., p. 706; Letter Book C., p. 33.*

† *Nicolas, Hist. of the Royal Navy, vol. I., p. 357.*

In 1308, a complaint was lodged by Luke Stuyit, merchant of Southampton, that certain Spaniards, some of whom he asserted were staying in the town of Southampton, had attacked his ship laden with wines, when on the high seas on a voyage from Gascony to Southampton, and having plundered the cargo, had scuttled the ship, which was worth £100 sterling.\*

In 1313, another complaint was made by some merchants of Aquitaine who had laden a ship, the *St. Mary of Bayonne*, with 174 tuns of white wine at the town of Tonnay, upon the river Charente, in Poitou, for export to England, and whose ship was wrecked on the Isle of Wight; their wine being cast ashore at divers places in the island, it was seized and carried away by some men of the county of Southampton, although it could not be considered as wreck of sea, since many mariners of the said ship had escaped alive to the land.†

In 1314, William de Forbernard, a merchant of Gascony, was coming to England with a cargo of wine, when he was boarded off the foreland of St. Botolph by Peter Bert, of Sandwich, Gervays Alard, of Winchelsea, and Robert Cleves, of Greenwich; the first took six tuns of wine, the second took two tuns and a pipe, and the third was satisfied with a pipe. As these three men were officers of the King, the merchant petitioned Edward to obtain redress of this robbery, but he was simply told to apply to the common law.‡

\* Commission of oyer and terminer to John Randolph and Thomas de Warblington, respecting this complaint, 8th August 1308. Cal. of Pat. Rolls, 2 Ed. II., part I., m. 20d.

† 8th June, 1313. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 6 Ed. II., m. 5 d.

‡ Rot. Parl. Vol. I. p. 327, A.D. 1314.

A still more flagrant instance of violence and contempt for law and justice happened about 1314. A ship called the *Blessed Mary*, of Fontarabie, near Bayonne, belonging to the King's subjects, with a cargo worth £2,200, was driven on shore on the coast of Angoumois. The wreck was immediately plundered by sailors belonging to Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney; and when an inquiry to discover the perpetrators of the robbery was ordered to be held at Winchelsea by Robert de Kendale, Warden of the Cinque Ports, the people of that town, Rye and Romney, most probably the thieves themselves, interfered, and by force and violence, prevented the investigation from taking place. The King's Council decided that, as nothing had been done by Robert de Kendale, an inquiry should be made by Henry de Cobham, the present Warden of the Cinque Ports, who was to do full and speedy justice in the matter.\*

In 1316, a ship called *La Hynde*, of Ipswich, freighted by a merchant of Bazas with eighty-four tuns and four pipes of wine, was seized by some English ships at the entrance of the Humber, opposite Kingston-upon-Hull.†

In 1317, *La Cogge Ste. Marie*, of Winchelsea, was captured by some English ships, off Calais, and her cargo of ninety-three tuns of Rochelle wines, to the value of 930 marks, was plundered.‡

Towards the close of the same year, or early in 1318, John Domynges and Peter Domynges, merchants of Portugal, on their way to Flanders with a ship laden with wine and other goods, anchored

\* Rot. Parl. 15 & 16 Ed. II. Vol. I., p. 239. Nicolas, Hist. of the Royal Navy, T. I., p. 360.

† Calend. of Pat. Rolls. 10 Ed. II. Part I., memb. 36 d.

‡ Calend. of Pat. Rolls. 10 Ed. II., Part II., memb. 18 d.

on account of contrary winds in the port of Patri-stowe, in Cornwall; their ship was cast ashore owing to the cables having parted, and the inhabitants, whom one feels inclined to accuse of having caused the mishap, immediately carried away the wine and other goods as being wreck of sea.\*

This incident is all the more interesting that it furnishes the earliest absolutely definite evidence of the existence of the wine trade of Portugal, and although, in this instance, the wines of these Portuguese merchants were destined to Flanders, there are many proofs of the commercial relations existing at the time between their country and England.

On November 22nd, 1318, for instance, a complaint was lodged by Martin de Bek, merchant of *Oporto in Portugal* (*Portus de Portynggale*) and his fellow merchants of the same place, that whereas they had laden a ship, called the *Ship of Jesus Christ of Oporto* (*navis Jehsu Christi de Portu*), in that port with goods for conveyance to England, and the ship was driven ashore at Brighteston, in the Isle of Wight, their merchandise was carried away by John de Presford and others.†

On March 8th, 1321, two other *merchants of Portugal*, Alfonsus Piers and Gonsalinus Piers, complained that whereas they had laden a ship called the *Ship of St. Anthony* with their goods at Lisbon (*Lychebon*), in the kingdom of Portugal, for conveyance to England to trade with, some men of the county of Cornwall boarded and captured their ship off the

\* Calend. of Pat. Rolls. 11 Ed. II., Part II., memb. 37 d. and 13 Ed. II., memb. 27.

† Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 12 Ed. II., Part. I., memb. 14 d.; 14 Ed. II., Part I., memb. 20 d. and 8d.

coast of Cornwall, and seized their goods, which they took to Penryn in the said county.\*

Some merchants of La Rochelle had an even worse experience than this; they loaded a ship, the *St. James*, of Bayonne, with 200 casks of white wine at Tonnay, Charente, in the Kingdom of France, for conveyance to Calais to trade with there, and their ship was taken by the Scots, who killed some of the mariners, but, afterwards, the mariners who had remained on board managed to retake the vessel from its captors and they brought her to Great Yarmouth. On their arrival in that port, the unfortunate survivors were unable to prevent "divers malefactors of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk" from boarding the ship and carrying away the wine; touching which outrage Louis, King of France, wrote to Edward asking him to grant redress to the Rochelle merchants.†

The crew of a captured ship were sometimes slain, if they offered any resistance to their captors, as appears from a commission of oyer and terminer issued on the 4th August, 1320, to enquire touching the persons who plundered a ship of Normandy, laden with wine of the price of 200 marks, and other goods belonging to Reymund de Caberok, of Moissac, John Dallayre, of Moissac, Bartholomew de la Roque, of Rabastens, and Bartholomew de Quarriers, of Villedieu (*de Villa Dei*), merchants of Gascony. It appears that this ship had been laden at Bordeaux, and was bound for Dieppe (*Depe*), in Normandy, when she was driven by a tempest to Sully in the said duchy, where she was boarded by divers persons, who carried

\* Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 14 Ed. II., Part II., memb. 20 d. and 5 d.

† Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 11 Ed. II., Part II., memb. 1 d.

away her cargo to Falmouth (*Falemewe*) and Fowey (*Fauwyke*), killed the men on board her and threw them into the sea.\*

Like the men of Portugal, La Rochelle and Bordeaux, the Flemings suffered at the hands of English pirates, principally from the attacks of the Cinque Ports fleet.

In October 1320, three Flemish envoys arrived in London during the sitting of Parliament and complained that several merchants of Flanders, who were proceeding on the *sea of England*, near *Crandon* (?), had been robbed of their wines and merchandise of great value by evildoers of England, *par mefesours d'Engleterre*—and prayed that redress should be accorded to them; all they obtained was an inquiry respecting their complaint, which was ordered to be made by Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere, keeper of the Cinque Ports, and others.†

The Flemings suffered probably more than any other merchants at the hands of pirates, as they did a great deal of the carrying trade between England and the South. Many of these were engaged in the wine trade.

In 1224, a Flemish ship, belonging to Emelise King, of Gravelines, arrived at Portsmouth with a cargo of Poitou wines.‡ The same year there was a Bayonne ship at Sandwich with wine belonging to Flemish merchants,§ and a few years later there is a mention of 52 casks of wine, belonging to Flemish merchants, seized in England.|| In 1382, George

\* Calend. of Pat. Rolls, 14 Edward II., Part I., memb. 21 d.

† Rot. Patent. 14 Ed. II., Part II., m. 26 d.

‡ Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 606, col. 2.

§ Rot. litt. claus. 8 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 621, col. 1.

|| Rot. litt. claus. 19 Hen. III., p. 2, m. 5 d.

Scotelar, merchant of Bruges, Jean de la Rue, merchant of Gand, Casevus Bandre and Bondynus van the Dame, merchants of Ypres, were given safe conducts to fetch Gascon wines and bring them either to London, Sandwich or Southampton.\*

German traders were not spared, and one of the most audacious attacks recorded was perpetrated in 1322, the victim being Albrich le Breme, a German merchant; his ship, called the *Cruzenbergh*, worth £40, with a cargo estimated at £139, was, as he thought, safely at anchor in the port of Orwell, and he was on board her when two ships, one belonging to Winchelsea and the other to Greenwich, both full of armed men, came into the harbour, boarded his ship, drove him and his nine comrades on shore, pursued them, and killed one and wounded others of the crew, after which they carried off the ship.†

In 1327, a complaint was made by the master and crew of a Bayonne vessel that had been boarded at Sandwich by three English ships, the men of which carried off the cargo, rigging and "hustlement" of the Bayonnese to the value of £180.‡

Many parliamentary proceedings show how frequently ships were illegally captured, and how destructive to commerce was the prevalent piracy.

Princes, even friendly or allied princes, were often no better than pirates. In 1321, a Winchelsea merchant having fetched a cargo of wine from Bordeaux, put in at Brest on his way home, owing to stress of weather; his ship and cargo were seized, and the letters of Edward II. to the Duke of Brittany

\* Rot. Vasc. 5 Ric. II., m. 15.

† Rot. Parl., 15 and 16 Ed. II. Vol. I., p. 397.

‡ Rot. Parl. Vol. II., p. 100.

were ineffectual to obtain restitution of the property. The result was that the King, in order to indemnify his subject, gave an order to seize at Bordeaux or Bayonne any ship belonging to Brittany merchants;\* the innocent being thus made to pay for the guilty.

On one occasion, a Bordeaux wine merchant had some money due to him by a Dunwich merchant who died; the Gascon caused the ships of some Dunwich men, who had come to Bordeaux for wines, to be seized there, so that what was due to him by their dead compatriot should be paid by these, who, however, refused to do so, and petitioned Edward II., who had to write to the Senechal of Gascony and Provost de l'Ombrière to stop proceedings against the men.†

Although the complaints lodged against English pirates are by far the most numerous, it must not be thought that these were the only offenders. The Flemings, the men of Normandy and Brittany, and others, committed many acts of piracy and hampered to some extent the wine trade of England.

A Bayonne ship, for instance, with a cargo of wine from Bordeaux, belonging to the Sire d'Albret and destined to Sandwich, was seized by Flemish pirates.‡

In 1327, Hugh Sampson stated, in a petition to the King in Parliament, that whilst his ship, the *Portpays*, laden with 140 tuns of wine, was on her passage from Bordeaux to England, she was

\* Rot. Vasc. 13 et 14 Ed. II., m. 11 d.

† Rot. Vasc. 13 et 14 Ed. II., m. 8.

‡ Rot. Vasc. 26 Ed. II., m. 9 in dorso.



attacked near a place called the Trade of St. Matthew, in Normandy, by four French ships full of soldiers, who slew all the crew and carried off the vessel.\*

In the following year, 1328, a ship belonging to a Southampton merchant was captured on her way back from Bordeaux, also in the Trade of St. Matthew, by Brittany pirates,† and the same fate befel later some Melcombe merchants who were stopped at Brest,‡ and also a ship belonging to Bristol merchants.§

Although these piratical acts became fewer in the following reigns, there are still many mentions of such illegal captures of wine-laden ships, one of these, for instance, belonging to Winchelsea merchants, being seized in 1388,|| and another one, owned in Exeter, having a similar fate in 1416.¶

As might be expected, Irish ports were also the scene of similar outrages. About 1314, William de Huntingdon stated, in a petition to the King, that he had gone to the port of Dublin with his ship and cargo, and that while he was in that city, paying the customs for his said ship, John de Lung, of Bristol, with other "malefactors and pirates," captured and carried off his ship with all the goods on board, and afterwards burnt the vessel. The Justiciary of Ireland was ordered to cause the matter to be investigated, and to send the report to the King in Chancery.\*\*

In spite of the insecurity of the sea and the enormous risks involved by both the Gascon

\* Rot. Parl. Vol. II., p. 435.

† Rot. Vasc. 2 Ed. III., m. 2.

‡ Rot. Vasc. 18 Ed. III., m. 3.

§ Rot. Vasc. 20 Ed. III., m. 2.  
Cf. m. 6.

|| Rot. Vasc. 11 Ric. II., m. 4.

¶ Rot. Vasc. 3 Hen. V., m. 2.

\*\* Rot. Parl. Vol. I., p. 327. As

early as 1219, merchants going to Ireland complained of the insecurity of the ports, saying that if better police did not prevail wine merchants and others would have to give up trading in Ireland. Rot. litt. claus., 4 Hen. III., Vol. I., p. 431., col. 1.

exporters and English importers of wine, their trade seems to have increased during the troubled reign of Edward II. No better proofs can be desired of the activity of the wine trade in England at the time than the numerous safe-conducts and letters of protection granted by this Monarch to Gascon and English merchants wishing to import wine into England.

In 1308, the fleet leaving Bordeaux was very large and representative.\* In 1312, Edward wrote himself to Oliver d'Ingham, then Seneschal of Gascony, in favour of Alard, of Winchelsea, who had embarked eighty casks and eight pipes of wine at Bordeaux, and to whom the King's protection had been granted.†

On the 15th April, 1313, protection and safe-conduct were granted, during pleasure, to John de Vico, King's merchant, Mayor of the City of Dax, coming to the King's dominions with wines and other wares.‡

On the 8th of July, 1316, a royal safe conduct was granted, until the following Michaelmas, for a

\* The first twenty-two ships of this fleet to leave Bordeaux on the 11th of September, 1308, were as follows :—

Plantea, of Sandwich.  
Gaanhabien, of Teignmouth.  
St. Thomas, of Teignmouth.  
Bon An, of Teignmouth.  
Porta Joha, of Teignmouth.  
Johaneta, of Teignmouth.  
Kathelina, of Sandwich.  
Blida, of Sandwich.  
St. Jacques, of Southampton.  
St. Barthelemy, of Southampton.  
Marguerite, of Warham.  
St. Pierre, of Warham.  
Trinite, of Dartmouth.  
Sainte Croix, of Chester.

Soudier, of Bristol.  
Gokdala, of Leet.  
Sauvea, of Sidmouth.  
Sauvea, of Exmouth.  
Rose, of Winchelsea.  
Plantea, of Lyme.  
Sainte Croix, of Okeley.  
Sauvea, of Plymouth.  
Public Record Office. Exchequer. Aquitaine. Bordeaux, 2-3, 4-5 Ed. II., 458 E. B. 1174. Cf. Fransisque Michel, Hist du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux, Vol. I., p. 172.  
† Rot. Vasc. 11 et 12 Ed. II., m. 5 in dorso.  
‡ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 6 Ed. II., part II., m. 15.

certain ship of Luke Rugini, "which is a *dromond*," and for another ship called the *Dode de Venesia*, both coming to England laden with wine and other merchandise to trade there.\*

On the 7th January, 1318, safe-conducts and protection for one year were accorded to Bernard Benett, Arnald de Garaumbald, Peter de Nagerise and John de la Vacherie, merchant vintners, coming within the realm with wines and other merchandise to trade with.†

On the 8th September, 1318, a safe conduct was granted until the following Christmas, for the ship called *la Bene of Merseye*, whereof Ralph Bysouth was master, which John, bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, by Gaucelinus Pagani, his butler, had caused to be laden with 40 casks of wine at London for conveyance to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.‡

The last safe-conduct granted by Edward for wines was in favour of Birard d'Albret to bring over to England 300 casks of wine bought in Guienne for his personal use,§ a quantity which appears very considerable for the consumption of a private household.

\* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 10  
Ed. II., part I., m. 37.

† Calendar of Patent Rolls, 11  
Ed. II., part I., m. 5.

‡ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 12  
Ed. II., part I., m. 26.

§ Rot. Vasc. 19 et 20 Ed. II.,  
m. 1.

## HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND. 191

### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE CALENDARS OF LETTER BOOKS IN THE GUILDHALL OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

##### EXTRACT FROM LETTER BOOK D. Fo. CXVII.

Writ enjoining certain regulations as to the sale of wines within the City, A.D. 1301.

“ Edward by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine, to the Mayor and to the Sheriffs of London greeting. For the amendment of the dearness of wines, which of late has been in the City of London and now is, more than ever it used to be, for the honour of ourselves and for the profit of our people be it ordained, by ourselves and by our Council, that no person whatsoever, freeman or stranger among our customers \* of wines, or any other person, butler of a great lord or any other, save only our own butler, shall go to meet wines coming towards the City, by land or by water, to affeer † or to buy the same ; but only after they have been unladen and stowed in a cellar of the City. And that our butler shall buy nothing save only for our own use ; nor yet any other person through him. And before they shall be so stowed away let each tun be marked at one end and the other with the gauge mark ; that so the buyer may readily see the default in such tun. And after the wines have been so stowed away, let them remain quiet for three days, so as not to be shown or put on sale for such three days ; except it be to great lords and to other good folks ‡ for storing or for their use. And after three days let the wines be sold to all persons who shall wish to buy them, and have so to do according to what from of old has been wont to be done. And let no engrosser § of wine be a taverner and no taverner be an engrosser, on pain of losing the wine. And let no taverner put his wine on sale by retail, until it shall have been assayed by the assayers, chosen and sworn thereto and the assayers have set the value thereof in form that follows, that is to say ; the Mayor and Aldermen shall cause eight or twelve good and lawful men to be chosen, who are the most skilled in wines and shall make them swear well and lawfully to assay the wines in all the taverns of London and in the suburbs of the liberties thereof ; and they shall cause the tuns

\* Receivers of the customs.

† To assess or value.

‡ Other than sellers of wines.

§ Grosseur, a wholesale dealer.

to be marked each at its value with the mark which shall thereunto be ordained, that is to say :—The gallon of the best wine to be sold at 5 pence, the next best at 4 pence and the rest at 3 pence per gallon for this year as to the sale of wine. And let every wine be set at its value without mixture and let each tun be marked at the end in front, that so the buyer may readily see the value of the wine. And let every buyer see his wine drawn so that he may not be deceived. And let no merchant, an engrosser of wines, keep a tavern for himself, neither privily by any other person, nor yet openly, on pain of forfeiture and losing the wine. And let no taverner be an engrosser of wine, under the same penalty. And as to the dregs of wines that remain in taverns, low down upon the lees, let the same be put into the wines of lower price. And let the droppings of the wines be thrown away, so as not to be put into any drink that has to enter man's body, on pain of imprisonment and of heavy ransom. And these points well and loyally to observe, let the taverners and their men be sworn, under such other heavy penalties as can be inflicted. We do will, so far as in us lies, and do command you, strictly enjoining, that these same ordinances you cause to be published in the City and the suburbs aforesaid, and strictly to be observed in all the points aforesaid; save only that we do not will that any cry shall be made as to the standard of value of wine for this year, although you are to cause such standard to be observed for sale according to the price fixed for wines this year. In witness thereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Witness. John de Sandale. Our treasurer, at Westminster the 5th day of January in the 4th year of our reign.

#### EXTRACT FROM LETTER BOOK E. FO. IV B.

Gerard Dorgoil, vintner, lost his freedom of the City for having received into his hostel (he being a public hosteler by virtue of his enjoying the freedom of the City)\* the wines of merchants strangers, to wit of Reymond de Busson and Andrew de Durem and others, for the purpose of selling the same at a higher price than that charged by the said merchants; also for selling the said wines to strangers and others without the inter-

\* He appears to have taken up the freedom since 1300, for in that year he and other Bordeaux inhabitants of the City were ordered

by the Mayor and Aldermen to keep no hostels. Letter Book C., folio xlv.

vention of a broker, and concealing the wine in a wharf, enclosed with a paling which formerly belonged to Alice la Molere; also for selling wine after it had become unwholesome, and for removing it to the hostel of the Bishop of Winchester in Suthwerk and elsewhere to avoid discovery by the scrutineers in their annual search, and bringing it back after the search was over, etc. 6th December, 1302.

## EXTRACT FROM LETTER BOOK E. Fo. CXIX B.

*Peticio vinetar' London'.*—Wednesday next after of the feast of Pentecost, Edward II., petition to the King and his Council by the vintners and taverners of London, to the effect that whereas the Mayor caused proclamation to be made at the time of the last *vendenges* that the said taverners should sell a gallon of wine at 3d. and no more, and this they have hitherto done as best they could, there had now arrived some wines of Reek which were dearer, selling usually at 60s. up to 100s. the tun, so that the said taverners could not afford to sell a gallon for less than 4 pence. The said taverners moreover, were every year heavily assessed before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and now in this *Iter* in London, to their great impoverishment. They pray, therefore, a remedy, 18th May, 1321. (Printed in Riley's *Memorials*, p. 342-343 and *Liber Custumarum*, T.I., p. 303.)

## CHAPTER IX.

THE growing importance of the wine trade in England during the fourteenth century attracted the constant attention of the King, and it was the object of a considerable amount of legislation, good, bad and indifferent, during the whole of Edward III.'s reign. Great credit must be given to the Regent for his unsparing efforts to pay off Edward II.'s debts, a step which brought back credit and confidence amongst traders and enabled the King to obtain, during the greater part of his reign, the moral and financial support of the mercantile classes of the realm.

As early as February 19th, 1327, an order was issued in the King's name to pay to the widow of Geoffrey de Conductu £18 due to her late husband for wines bought by Edward II. for the royal household in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1311\*).

In the same year, several similar orders and grants of money were made for the payment of the late King's debts to wine merchants; in May, for instance, some foreign and native vintners were granted £233 13s. 7d., the balance of a sum of £331 17s. due to them for eighty-five tuns of wine since 1311,†

\* Calendar of Close Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part I., m. 24.

† Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Edward III., Part I., m. 20. 12th May, 1327. Grant to Gerald Ful-

cher, Reginald Mas, Reymund Arnaldi of Mountans, John de London, Peter Johannes, William Amanyn, Peter Guillelmi of Cheonak, William Govel and Stephen

and in July, some merchants of Marmande received £131 1s. 6½d. for wine bought for the late King's use at Newcastle on July 3rd, 1310.\*

As a result of these payments, the King's Butler, Richard de la Pole, experienced none of the difficulties of his immediate predecessor when he was ordered to buy 300 tuns of wine, in 1327, for the King's household and army in Scotland, where they had to be despatched with all speed.† His task was further facilitated in March, 1328, when the collectors of some taxes in Yorkshire and Derbyshire were ordered to hand to the royal Butler £600 in order to provide wine for the King's household.‡

At the same time, the Regent took such measures as were best calculated to facilitate the trade in wines and to render it productive of greater revenue to the Royal Exchequer.

Trustworthy and more numerous collectors of customs were appointed,§ and strict instructions were

Bartolomei, merchants, on their petition to the King and council, of the issues of the customs of wools, hides and wool-fells in the port of Ipswich till they have been paid £233 13s. 7d. ob., the arrears of a sum of £331 17s.—due to them for 85 tuns of wine bought by Walter Waldeshuf, the late King's Chief Butler, and for which they had a grant, dated 13th August, 5 Edward II., of the moiety of the like customs in Southampton, which were seized, by ordinance of the King and council, when their accounts with the collectors of customs, Henry de Lym and John de Vaus, showed that they had received only £98 3s. 4d. ob. See also Calendar of Close Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part II., m. 7. 28th October, 1327.

\* Calendar of Close Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part II., m. 1.

† Calendar of Close Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part II., m. 21.

‡ Calendar of Close Rolls, 2 Ed. III., m. 29 and 32. The collectors of the twentieth in the North Riding of Yorkshire, in the East Riding and in Derbyshire paid £100 each, and those of the West Riding £30; the collectors of the tenth of the clergy in the Diocese of York paid £100 and the collectors of the same tax in the North Riding £170.

§ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part III., m. 15, 8th October, 1327. Writ of aid for John de la Pole and Henry Deorday, deputed by Richard de la Pole, the King's butler, to levy and collect 2s. on each cask of wine imported by foreign merchants, in the port of London, during pleasure. The like for the following (names inserted) in the ports of Yarmouth, Ipswich, Sandwich, Wynchelse, Chichester, Shorham and Seford, Southampton, Devon and Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset, Bristol and Chepstowe.



issued respecting the quality of the wines sold in public places.\*

The Regent, in the King's name, further abolished the principle of corporate liability for crime or debt, by which members of a whole nationality were exposed to arrest and the seizure of their goods for the default of one of their number.

He allowed sales on board ships in harbour, which checked the rapacity of municipal officers.

He laid upon the Chancellor and Treasurer the duty of hearing complaints by alien merchants; he allowed their oath to be taken as to the contents of their imported cargoes.

He relieved them from the exactions of many royal officers; such exactions had become more frequent and arbitrary since the butlerage and prisage had gradually passed from the Crown to some favoured individuals to whom the King alienated them as a reward for some service, or as payment of some debt.

For many years, for instance, the Dukes of Ormond claimed and obtained prisage on all wines landed at Waterford, under the patronymic name of Le Botiller or Butler.†

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\* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part III., m. 13. 8th November, 1327. The King being given to understand that the vintners of the City of London and their taverners selling wine by retail in the City and suburbs, mix weak and bad (*debilia et corrupta*) wine with other wine, and sell the mixture at the same price as pure wine, not permitting persons drinking in the taverns, or otherwise purchasing wine, to see whether they draw the wine in measures

from casks or take it elsewhere, to the scandal of the City and danger to the health of the buyers of wine, the Mayor and Sheriffs are commanded to make proclamation that such practices shall cease, and to fine such as offend thereafter.

† Rott. Litt. Claus., 1 Ed. III., Pars I., m. 1. The first Earl of Ormond was James Butler, who was elevated to the peerage in 1327, in the Parliament assembled at Salisbury in that year by Mortimer.

The commonest abuse with respect to prisage was that it was usually claimed and often obtained at every port where a ship might either choose to call or be forced to seek shelter before reaching its ultimate destination.\* Some Haverford merchants who, on their way back from Bordeaux, where they had been to fetch wines, were forced by stress of weather to put in at Fenwick, in Cornwall, had been made to pay butlerage on their cargo at that place; when they reached Haverford, although they were able to show the receipt for what they had been forced to pay at Fenwick, they were obliged to pay butlerage a second time; they could only petition the King and his council, who simply ordered that an inquiry should be made.†

With a view to putting a stop to such unfair practices, the following important order was issued in the King's name:—

“ If nine tuns of wine, or less than nine, come in a ship or in a boat, the King's Chamberlain ought to take nothing for the King's prise, as of right. And if ten tuns come, he shall take nothing on account of prisage beyond one tun; and upon twenty tuns he shall take two. And if a hundred or two hundred tuns come together in one ship, the Chamberlain shall take for the King's prisage only two tuns. And if a great ship that comes with wines desires to unload into boats before it arrives (at the wharf) and follows the boats, with the remaining wines to the wharf,

\* In 1333, an order was sent to Richard de la Pole, the King's butler, “ to supersede the exactions of customs from ships driven by storms to the ports and shores of the kingdom and which are freighted for parts beyond as may be ascertained from their bills

of lading (*cartas frettagii*) or otherwise,” etc. Calendar Close Rolls. 7 Ed. III., Part I., m. 2. 16th August, 1333.

† Petitions to the King and Council, p. 216 c, Public Record Office.

the Chamberlain ought to take for the ship and the boats only a single prisage. And if the mariners of the ship or of the boat can show that the King's prisage has been taken at Sandwich, or at any other seaport, by the Chamberlain or by any other bailiff acting on behalf of the King, the Chamberlain ought to take nothing at London; but throughout all dominions of the King, the merchants to whom such wines belong ought to go quit by reason of the first prisage.

"When nineteen or more tuns come to London by boat, it is fully lawful for the Chamberlain to take the assurance or the oath of the merchants to whom such wines belong, that they do not cause the wine to arrive in such manner, by small quantities, for the purpose of avoiding or of withdrawing the King's prisage."\*

The perpetual wars waged by Edward in Scotland and Ireland, as well as on the Continent, made it imperative for the King to regulate the foreign trade

\* Dez Vynz. La prys le roy des vyns. Si noef tonelx des vyns, ou meyns de neof, veignent en nief ou en bat, le Chaumberleyn le Roy ne doit rien prendre a le pryse le Roy par dreit. Et si x tonelx veignent, il prendra i tonelle; et silia xix tonelx, il ne doit prendre a la pryse (lasise) de la prys fors un tonelle; et de xx toneux il prendra deux. Et si c ou ce toneux veignent ensemble en une nief, le Chaumberleyn ne prendra a la prys le Roy fors deux tonelx. Et si un graunt nief qe vient ore vyns se vuille descharger en bateux avaunt qelle veigne (en havene), et s'ie les bateux, or les vyns remenauntz jesqez a la havene le Chaumberleyn ne doit prendre de la nief ne des bateaux for an soul prys. Et si mariners

de la nief ou de batelle poont monstrier que la prise le Roy eit estee prys a Sandwiz, ou en nulle autre port de le meer, par Chaumberleyn ou par autre baillif attour ne par le Roy, le Chaumberleyn ne doit rien prendre a Londres; mais par toute la power le Roy deivent les marchauntz as queux les vyns sont, estre quitez par le primer pryse.

Quaunt xix ou ix tonelx veignent a Londres en bat. bien list a Chaumberleyn prendre la stance ou le serment des marchauntz a queux le vyns sont, qe eaux ne fount mye le vyn veignir en tiel manere par parcelle, pur eschiver ne pur toler le prys le Roy. Liber Albus, Book III., Part I., fo. 198 a. Riley, pp. 247, 248.

of the country in such a way that the consumer should be abundantly provided with foreign goods on moderate terms, whilst the revenue arising out of taxes and duties should be sufficiently productive to keep his armies in the field.

“ To make imports cheap to the English consumer, and to obtain a high price for English exports, were the implied principles of Edwardian statesmanship ; they come out most clearly in the regulations made for the wine and wool trades respectively. Sometimes the dearness of the goods was ascribed to the monopoly conferred on the burgesses of the various towns by their charters. Perhaps the strongest statement occurs in a preamble of the first statute of the ninth year ; this confers full freedom of traffic on aliens and annuls the charters of privileges under which the burgesses of certain cities had put hindrances in the way of their trading. Great duress and grievous damage have been done to the King and his people, by some people of cities, boroughs, ports of the sea and other places of the said realm which in long time past have not suffered nor yet will suffer merchants, strangers, nor others which do carry and bring in by sea or land, wines, *aver-du-pois*, and other livings and victuals, with divers other things to be sold, necessary and profitable for the King, his prelates, earls, barons and other noblemen, and the commons of this realm, to sell or deliver such wines, livings, or victuals, or other things to any other than themselves of the cities, boroughs, ports of the sea, or other places where such wines, livings, or victuals, and other things to be sold shall be brought or carried, by reason whereof such stuff aforeseaid is sold to the King and his people, in the

hands of the said citizens, burgesses and other people, denizens, more dear than they should be if such merchant strangers which bring such things into the realm might freely sell them to whom they would.”\*

In 1330 an Act was passed regulating the distributive and retail wine trade :

“ Because there be more taverns in the realm than were wont to be, selling as well corrupt wines as wholesome, and have sold the gallon at such price as they themselves would, because there was no punishment ordained for them, as hath been for them that have sold bread or ale, to the great hurt of the people ; it is accorded, that a cry shall be made that none be so hardy as to sell wines but at a reasonable price, regarding the price that is at the ports whence the wine came ; and the expenses, as in carriage of the same from the said ports to the places † where they be sold. The town authorities were to make an assay twice a year, and all wines found to be corrupt were to be shed and cast out and the vessels broken.”‡

In London, the mayor and aldermen entered into the spirit of this Act by issuing a proclamation fixing the price wine was to be sold at, according to quality and origin :

“ By reason of the multitude of the kinds of wines now brought to the said City (London), it was ordered by the same (Mayor and Aldermen) that the

\* 9 Ed. III., st. I., preamble ; Cunningham. *Growth of English Industry and Commerce. Early and Middle Ages.* pp. 299, 300.

† The Chancellors and Members of the University of Cambridge complained more than once that they were not served with wine so

cheaply as the residents in the sister University. *Rot. Parl. II.*, 48 (69), *III.* 254 (8) (2), 4 Ed. III. c. 12.

‡ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce. Early and Middle Ages*, p. 319.

gallon of best Gascon wine shall be sold from henceforth at 4d., and the gallon of Rhenish wine at 8d. ; and that all taverners of the City shall keep the doors of their taverns and of their cellars open, so that the buyers of their wines may be able to see where their wines are drawn. . . . And hereupon the said Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs were given to understand that all the taverners of the City, making a confederacy and alliance among them, had closed the doors of their taverns, and would not allow their wines to be sold ; in contempt of our Lord the King, and to the annulment of the ordinances aforesaid, and the common loss of all the people. Upon hearing which, the Mayor and Sheriffs went through the middle of the Vintry and of Chepe, and through other streets and lanes of the City that they might know the truth as to the same ; and they had the names of the taverners so closing their taverns written down.” \*

The Mayor's zeal was highly commended by the King, who bade him see that the assize they had set be duly observed, so that all kinds of victuals might be sold at a reasonable price.†

Such meddlesome royal and municipal interference defeated its object ; it made the trade of both the vintners and the taverners more difficult, and placed them in the necessity of choosing between selling their wines at a loss or at too small a profit, or else to fake them and mix them in such a way as to recoup themselves. This was evidently the course followed by many taverners, since the King by numerous writs, and the Mayor, by often repeated ordinances and proclamations, denounced the evil

* Calendar of Letter Books. Letter Book E. fo. ccxxi. 29th June, 1331.	† Calendar of Letter Books. 31st July, 1331. Letter Book E. fo. clxxvb.
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of mixing wines, and of refusing to allow consumers to see their wine drawn, but always enforcing that it should only be sold at a uniform and perfectly arbitrary price.\*

A precept, on behalf of the King, was sent by the mayor and aldermen to each of the sheriffs, on Tuesday, the morrow of St. Katharine, 16 Ed. III. (25 Nov., 1342), to the effect that they and their serjeants should visit all taverns where wine was sold, and command the wine sellers to sell no Gascon wine for more than 4d. a gallon, nor Rhenish wine for more than 6d., nor to keep the two wines in the same cellar, and, further, to allow customers to see their wines drawn according to the late proclamation.†

A measure, however, which had far-reaching effects and proved much more detrimental to the wine trade, and to the whole foreign trade of the country, was the re-enacting, by Edward III., of the prohibition to export gold or coin.‡

No person was, henceforth, to carry out of the kingdom either money or plate without a special licence, upon pain of forfeiture of whatever he should thus convey away. Sworn searchers were appointed to see that the law was observed at all the ports. It was further ordered that the innkeepers at every port should be sworn to search their guests; the fourth part of all forfeits was assigned as the reward of the searchers. A few years later,§ nearly the same regulations were repeated, the principal variation

\* See Calendars of Letter Books in the Guildhall. Letter Book F. fo. XIII. (13th March, 1338). fo. LXIIB. fo. LXIII. Letter Book G. fo. IIB. Riley's Memorials of London, p. 82. Liber Custumarum. Vol. I., p. 425.

† Letter Book F. fo. LXVI. Delpit, Collect. des Doc. fr., etc., p. 69.

‡ By the 9th of Edward III. (1335). St. 2.

§ By the 17th of Edward III. (1343).

being that, to induce them to do their duty more diligently, the reward of the searchers was now raised to a third part of the forfeits, and penalties were provided for their neglect or connivance.

As regards the wine trade, the result of these prohibitive regulations was that the foreign wine merchants, being unable to take away with them the money received in payment of their wines and forced to invest the proceeds of their sales in the purchase of articles which they did not want, simply ceased to come to this country. English vintners, as well as the King and some of the wealthier lords, both temporal and spiritual, were obliged to send to Bordeaux their men, their ships, and their money, there to buy the supplies of wine of which they stood in need.

This change was mainly responsible for the rapid increase of the naval strength and maritime preponderance of England. The mercantile marine of the nation had been heretofore completely neglected, most of the carrying trade being done by the Gascons, the Flemish, the Genoese and the Germans; the necessity which forced the English to go oversea to fetch the wines that foreign traders refused to bring over any longer was therefore of the greatest benefit to the country.

To encourage the development of a national mercantile marine which, in time of war, formed the best part of the royal navy, the King issued a great many safe-conducts to all those, merchants or prelates, sending oversea for wine. The royal protection was equally accorded to foreign vintners\* who

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\* See Calendar of Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 38. 12th February, 1338. Protection for some Bayonne merchants who lately brought some wines from Aquitaine and sold them within



still came to England, although their number had greatly diminished, as is evidenced by the abnormally small number of the safe-conducts accorded to these foreign merchants, compared with those that were granted to Englishmen.

In 1338, the royal protection was granted to some merchants of Bristol sailing with the King's fleet for the Duchy of Aquitaine for wines; it was at the same time accorded to some merchants of Lynn, also going to Aquitaine for wine, on condition that all ships going in the fleet were well found in men and armour to resist attacks by enemies.† The like was also extended to Michael Martyn, Martin Domynges, John Alfons and John Ocho, merchants of Portugal, who had hired in the port of Southampton a ship called *La Juliane*, of Southampton, to go to Portugal and Spain for wines, olive oil and other things for P. cardinal of St. Praxed's, dwelling within the realm, and for themselves.\*

Curiously enough the time during which the royal protection was to have force was always specified and usually limited to the time necessary for the outward voyage and the return journey to England; thus, whilst the protection granted to the above merchants going to Portugal and Spain was to last until the following Whit-Sunday, Easter was the limit in the case of a similar safe-conduct, granted in the same month of January, 1338, to the servants of B., cardinal deacon of St. Mary's in Aquiso, going

the realm, returning then to bring more wines.

A safe conduct was also accorded to a merchant of Almain, sending to Flanders and Almain to buy wines of *Rine* to bring to London, there to trade with and make his

profit of. Cal. Pat. Rolls. 24 Ed. III., Part II., m. 22.

\* Calendar of Patent Rolls. 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 40. 26th January, 1338. Also 17 Ed. III., Part I., m. 43. 15th February, 1343.

to Aquitaine to buy 150 tuns of wine for his use. The same limit was also accorded to the servant of the Pope's nuncio, going there to buy fifty tuns of wine of Gascony.\*

In 1339, William Heyron, vintner of London, was granted the royal protection until the Purification, for his ship called *La Seinte Anne*, of Bayonne, freighted with new wine, coming to London from Aquitaine.†

Unfortunately, Edward III. was induced to revive the statutes of his predecessors against the supposed mischiefs of forestalling; in doing so, his object was to strike at the profits of middlemen, in the hope that wine would be rendered cheaper and its consumption greater. It was assumed that middlemen gained at the expense of the public, and it seemed to follow that if middlemen did not gain, the public would be put to less expense.‡

By the law of the land, "no forestaller was to be suffered to dwell in any town, who is an open oppressor of poor people, and of all the commonalty, and an enemy of the whole shire and country."§

Imbued with this spirit, Edward III. decreed "that no English merchant nor any of his servants, nor others for them, shall go into Gascony there to abide, nor shall he have any other there dwelling to make bargains or buying of wines by any colour, before the time of vintage, that is to say before that common passage be made to seek wines there; and

\* Calendar of Patent Rolls. 11 Ed. III., Part III., m. 5. 4th January, 1338.

† Calendar of Patent Rolls. 13 Ed. III., Part II., m. 19. 28th October, 1339.

‡ Cunningham. Growth of English Industry and Commerce. Early and Middle Ages, p. 320.

§ See the Statute "*De Pistoribus*" attributed by some to the 51st year of Henry III., by others to the 13th of Edward I.

that none buy or bargain by himself or by any other, any wines, but only in the ports of Bordeaux and Bayonne, and, if any be found doing against the same, he shall be apprehended by the Seneschal of Gascony, or the Constable of Bordeaux, and his body brought to the Tower of London.

Further, they were not to charge high prices on account of the risks they ran, so that Englishmen, who were already forbidden to export wool, so that it might be sold dear, were now prevented from importing wine, in order that it might be bought cheap; in both trades the native was thus placed at a disadvantage as compared with the foreign subjects and allies of the Crown.†

It might be supposed that the forestaller, the man who went in advance to drive a bargain and buy wine, only bought it for the purpose of throwing it into the sea or otherwise destroying it; the fact that, like all dealers, he bought it only that he might sell it again was lost sight of, and it is difficult for us to understand now why the legislator should have objected so strongly to purchases made under the most favourable conditions with a view to greater profit when the time should come to sell.‡

As to the prohibition to fetch wines from any other port than Bayonne or Bordeaux, it was entirely due to the rapacity of the municipal officers of the latter town. Many ships bound for England used to complete their cargo, after leaving Bordeaux, by

\* 27 Ed. III., St. 1. c. 7... *soit pris et arresté par le Seneschal de Gascoigne ou le constable de Burdeaux, et le Corps maunde en Engleterre a la Tour de Londres.*

† Cunningham. Growth of English Industry and Commerce, p. 320.

‡ The King ordered the Seneschal of Gascony and the Constable of Bordeaux to publish and enforce the statute against engrossing and forestalling Gascon wines. *Syllabus to Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. I., p. 377.

calling at Macau, the Bec d'Ambès, Margaux, Castillon, and other places of the lower Médoc; many fees and local taxes were in this way lost to the Bordeaux municipal authorities, who contrived to obtain from Edward III. an act prohibiting the loading of wines for abroad at any place other than Bordeaux, between the Chartrons and Castillon.\*

After placing difficulties in the way of English merchants who used to go to Gascony for wines, Edward, by the same Statute (1353) invited Bordeaux and other traders to bring their own wines to England in safety, and to whichever port they pleased; they were to sell them as they chose, provided that the King's Butler could buy whatever might be wanted for the royal household, paying for the same forty days after delivery, as usual.†

This Statute proved, on the whole, very disappointing both to the wine trade and to the Royal Exchequer. The Gascons were not anxious to come to England with their wines, as they were not really allowed to sell them at what they considered a remunerative price, and wine became gradually scarcer and consequently dearer throughout the realm. To remedy this state of affairs, Edward had first of all recourse to further legislation, and he enacted measures fixing the wholesale and retail price of wine in England, regulating the mode of payment and the amount of legal taxes and tolls which were to be levied on this commodity.‡

\* Rot. Vasc., 17 Ed. III., m. 3.; 25 Ed. III., m. 3.

† Statutes of the Realm. 27 Ed. III., st. I., c. v.-viii.

‡ See Rot. Vasc., 28 Ed. III., m. 16. *De cursu monetarum. De*

*empcionibus et vendicionibus juxta cursum monete argenti faciendis. Also Rot. Franc. 28 Ed. III., m. 7. De navibus Anglie a partibus Vasconie in Angliam reduciendis.*

This policy of constant interference had a marked paralysing effect on the English wine trade ; in spite of the royal prohibitions to export wine and of orders to encourage " free trade in wine by stranger and native alike,"\* the wine trade experienced a period of increasing depression, which alarmed the King and forced him to realize how detrimental to commerce his late charters had proved. He revoked them and once more allowed all his subjects, in 1364, to go oversea to buy and bring to England wines of Gascony, of La Rochelle, of the Rhine, of Osoye and of Spain, " to the end and intent that by this general license greater plenty may come and greater (business) may be of wines within the realm." All Gascons and foreigners were at the same time allowed to come to England with their wines and to trade here in all freedom, the interests of the King being, however, safeguarded.†

The price at which they were to sell their wines was still regulated by royal authority. The best wine of Gascony, Osoye, or Spain, was not to be sold at a higher price than 100s. the cask, and the common wines of the same countries were to be sold cheaper, according to value, seven, six, and a half, or six marks ; a cask of the best Rochelle wine, six marks or less according to quality, either five and a half, five, four and a half, or four marks. The penalty in every case of contravention was confiscation of the wine sold. The pipes and vessels of lesser capacity were to be sold strictly according to the quality and quantity of wine they contained. The

\* Calendar of Letter Books in the Guildhall. Letter Book G., fo. iii. 26 Ed. III. 18th January, 1353. This prohibition was renewed several times. See Letter Book G. fos. cclxxxix b., and

cccx. 8th June, 1372, and 20th October, 1373.

† Rot. Parl. A.D. 1364-5. 38 Ed. III. Vol. II, p. 287., col. 2. Also Statutes of the realm. 38 Ed. III., st. I., cap. ii.

best Gascony, Osoye or Spanish wines were not to be retailed, throughout the realm, or when consumed on the premises (*e dedeinz*) at more than 6d., and the best Rochelle wine not more than 4d. per gallon, under penalty of confiscation of all the wine. As regards Rhenish wines, which were imported in casks varying greatly in size, it was decided that the best was not to be sold, either wholesale or by retail, at more than 6d. the gallon, throughout the realm, also under penalty of confiscation.\*

The most important feature of this elaborate charter was the encouragement it gave to the King's subjects to go oversea with their own ships to buy wine. Many vessels were built for or hired by wealthy English vintners to go to Gascony, in spite of the somewhat unfair treatment they sometimes met there at the hands of the artful Gascons; these were accused of having entered into a confederacy to ask exorbitant prices for their wines, knowing very well that those traders who had undertaken so perilous a journey would not go back to England without their full cargo of wine, whether they had to pay a high price for it or not.

But Parliament, bent on keeping the nation's coined money within the kingdom, failed to realise what wealth would eventually accrue to the realm from the command of the sea, which could only be assured by encouraging the mercantile navy. Complaints were loud in the Commons that the freedom given Englishmen to go to Gascony for their wines was most pernicious to the welfare of the realm;

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\* Collection générale des documents français, etc., p. 69, No. cxi. These prices were prac-

tically a repetition of those fixed by the ordinance of November 26th, 1342. 14 Ed. III.

it was argued that they took with them a large amount of gold and silver to pay for their wines, whereas if these were brought to England by the Gascon merchants, as of old, the proceeds of their sales would have to be spent in the country, for the purchase of wool, hides or other home products which might be sold in Guienne and Languedoc.

These arguments prevailed and an Act of Parliament was duly registered in 1368, forbidding all Englishmen to go to Gascony for wine; this was to be brought into the kingdom by the Gascons themselves and other aliens. It was also forbidden to all Englishmen to send gold or silver or cause any to be sent, to buy wines, the penalty for so doing being the forfeiture of any such gold or silver sent. It was ordered at the same time that all ships engaged in the wine trade between England and Gascony, should have precedence over all others to load at and to sail from Bordeaux, and that, on arrival in England, none of the wines brought should be sold before they had been landed according to custom.\*

The Commons had hardly had time to congratulate themselves on the success of their efforts in

\*Acts 42 Ed. III., c. 8. "Item est assentu et acorde, pur profit du roialme, qe nul Engleis passe en Gascoigne pur vins quero illoeques, nies soient amesnez en Engleterre par les Gascoigns et autres aliens. Et sur ce soit defens fait parmy le roialme, et qe nul Engleis mette en meins desditz Gascoigns ou aliens, ne illoeques mande or n'argent n'autre marchandie pur ent faire achat de vins al oeps des Engleis sur forfaiture del or, argent, ou marchandises issint mys es meins, ou mandez; et qe touz les niefs d'Engleterre

et de Gascoigne qe vieignent en Gascoigne, soient primerement frettez pur amesner vins en Engleterre devant touz autres; et qe nul Engleis bargain ne achate tieux vins venantz en Engleterre, avant q'ils soient mys à terre solone la fourme de l'estatut eut fait . . ." etc. Petitions to the King and Council, 1090, c. (The Statutes of the Realm, Vol. 1, MDCCCX., in folio p. 389, col. 1), and Rot. Parl. Vol II., p. 296, col. 2. Macpherson. Annals of Commerce, Vol. I., p. 575.

forcing Bordeaux merchants to bring their wines to England, and in thus preventing a good deal of English money from being spent in Gascony, when during the following year, the Black Prince, who was Duke of Aquitaine as well as Prince of Wales, lodged a very strong protest against the new order of things. He complained that his revenues in Aquitaine had been greatly diminished, and that considerable quantities of wines remained unsold at Bordeaux; few, and only the most wealthy, Gascon merchants could afford to run the risk of shipping their wines to England at their own expense, when they were only allowed to barter them there for hides or wool, goods of which they were no judges. Those who brought their wines to London or any other port were often discouraged to attempt the same voyage again, as the vintners and taverners, relying on the necessity of the Gascons to sell the cargo they had just brought at great risk, combined to offer such a low price for the wines thus brought that, in spite of the inconvenience and expense incurred, Gascons often chose not to sell, rather than do so at too low a price; there are several instances of wines being re-exported, on this account, to Flanders, Calais, Brittany, or any other market where the shippers had reason to hope for a better price.\*

The dissatisfaction which was growing acute in the Duchy, the protests of the Prince of Wales,†

\* See Rot. Franc. 38 Ed. III., m. 8; license to re-export six casks of Gascon wine from London to Calais. And Rot. Franc. 38 Ed. III., m. 12; similar license for 22 casks of red Gascon wine to re-export from Sandwich to Brittany or elsewhere.

† The preamble of the statute

mentions that it was granted "at the request of the King's dear-beloved son, the Prince, which hath oftentimes complained, that his subsidies and customs of wines in his principality of Aquitaine have been abridged and minished, because that Englishmen do not come there to buy wines as they



and the scarcity of wine in England led the legislators to revoke their former decision in 1368, and to grant again permission to all Englishmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen to go to Gascony for wine, provided they undertook and proved to the satisfaction of the bailiffs at the ports of departure, that they would buy no less than 100 casks and that they would not import them into any other country, under the penalty of having their ship and its cargo confiscated as well as being sent to prison.\*

This was, however, only a temporary measure ; the prohibitive statute of 1353 was not cancelled but simply suspended, and it was again brought into force in 1371.

The legislative prohibitions which hampered the free import of wine were not limited to this branch of the wine trade ; a great many others applied to the wholesale and retail trade at home. The price wine was allowed to be sold at was still regulated by royal authority, but the greater variety of wines introduced in England during the third Edward's reign rendered the *assize* more complicated and more impracticable than ever. In 1350, for instance, the following assize was proclaimed in London :

“ Also, that no vintner shall be so daring as to sell the gallon of wine of Vernage for more than 2s., and wine of Crete, wine of the River, Piemont, and Clarre and Malveisin, at 16d.

“ Also, that one person of every company may see that the vessel into which their wine is drawn is clean, and from what tun their wine is drawn ; on pain of imprisonment, and of paying to the Chamber,

were wont, and great part of the wines remain unsold . . . .43 Ed. III., c. 2.

\* Statutes of the realm, 43 Ed. III., c. 2. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 577.

for the first time, half a mark ; for the second time, one mark ; for the third time, 20s. etc." \*

In January 1353, a proclamation was made in London to the effect that no taverner sell a gallon of wine of Gascony for more than eight pence ; † in November 1356, a similar proclamation was made that no taverner sell a gallon of new wine for more than sixpence, and of old wine for more than eight pence, on pain of forfeiture ; ‡ in October 1361, it was again ordained that no new wine of Gascony should be sold for more than sixpence a gallon. § In April 1362, it was ordained that no one sell a gallon of best *Vernage* for more than 32d. ; a gallon of inferior *Vernage* for more than 2s. ; a gallon of *Malvesyn* and *Rivere* for more than 20d. ; a gallon of *Cret*, *Candy* and *Romeneyea* for more than 16d. ; and that they sell not *Vernage* for *Crete*, (nor) *Romeneye* for *Malveysin*, but sell their sweet wines for what they are and not otherwise, under pain of forfeiture. || In the following year it was decreed " that no vintner, taverner nor other person of any kind be so bold as to sell a gallon of *Vernage* wine for more than 2s. ;

\* Letter Book F. 24 Ed. III. fo clxxxi.

† Calendar of Letter Books in the Guildhall. Letter Book G, fo iib. The price of other kinds of wine was, at that date, left open to the seller : . . . that those (taverners) who sell sweet wines, like *Crete*, *Vornage* or *Ryvere*, keep no other wines in the same tavern ; that no taverner sell wine by measure unless the measure be sealed with the seal of the Aldermen (of the Ward) or of the Standard of the Guildhall, and this to be done with the measure standing upright ; that no taverner refuse to let any of the company see the vessel whence the wine is drawn,

and that he remove the curtains that may obstruct the view.

‡ Letter Book G., fo. lvi. 20th November, 1356.

§ Letter Book G., fo. xciii. 18th October, 1361.

|| Letter Book G, fo. xeviiib, 36 Ed. III. 17th April, 1362. The same warning appears in a former proclamation dated 13th December, 1357 : " that no one sell sweet wines nor warrant wine of *Ver-naccia* for *Crete*, or *Ryver* for *Malvesie*, but each wine shall be sold for what it really is and without any admixture, under pain of forfeiture." Letter Book G. fo. lxxib.

wine of *Cret*, wine of *La Rivere*, *Piement*, *Clarre*, and *Malveisyn* for more than 16d., nor a gallon of wine of Gascony or Rochel, red or white, for more than 8d. \*

The price of Rhenish wine was fixed, in 1369, at 10d. the gallon, when it was ordained that this wine should not be kept in the same tavern where other white wine was kept. †

This price was slightly raised on November 1st 1372, when proclamation was made "that no one sell the best sweet wines, Rhenish wines, *Vermaile*, or other wine for more than 12d. a gallon; nor mix one wine with another; nor sell bad wine; and that everyone be allowed to see his wine drawn." ‡

This uniform charge for wines so different in character and quality was found impracticable, and in the following year, 1373, another proclamation was made maintaining the shilling as the maximum price to be charged per gallon, but establishing a scale for cheaper quality wines; it ordained "that no one sell wine, sweet or otherwise, for more than 12d. a gallon, wine of *Provynce* for more than 10d, Rhenish wine for more than 8d., and wine of Gascony (*Vermayl* or white), for more than 8d., under pain of forfeiture and imprisonment; also that no one sell wine except in sealed and full measures, and that every customer may see his wine drawn." §

This *assize* was not enforced for more than three months, and a very marked increase of all prices was confirmed in London, by a Proclamation of the Mayor issued on Saturday, the eve of Christmas, A.D. 1373; *Vernage* was allowed to be sold at 2s. a gallon, *Ryvere*,

\* Letter Book G., fo. cvii. 37  
Ed. III.

† Letter Book G., fo. cxxxviii. b.  
43 Ed. III. 1st November, 1369.

‡ Letter Book G., fo. ccxcv. b. 46  
Ed. III.

§ Letter Book G., fo. cccv. i. b.  
47 Ed. III. 14th September, 1373.

*Mawvesie* and *Romeneye*, at 16d.; *Candy*, *Trubidiane*, *Mountrosse*, *Greek*, *Creet*, *Province* and *Clarre*, at 12d.\*

The introduction of so many different wines from Southern Europe puzzled the legislator greatly; the ordinances, decrees and proclamations respecting *sweet wines*, whether they emanate from the Parliament, the King or the Municipal authorities are so arbitrary and so contradictory that it is most difficult to understand what policy dictated them or for what object they were framed.

Previous to 1353, the sale of sweet wines does not appear to have been prohibited; it was naturally subject to the usual municipal regulations. In 1352, the Mayor and Aldermen of London agreed and decreed that "a taverner who sells wine of *Vernaccia* (*vyn Vernache*), wine of *Crete* or *de la Rivere*, or other kind of sweet wine by false measures, his measure shall be burnt and the seller go to prison and be amerced half a mark for the use of the Commonalty."†

In January 1353, it was ordained that taverners who sold sweet wine "like *Crete*, *Vernage*, or *Ryvere*, keep no other wines in the same tavern."‡ Taverners however, kept sweet wines, which were still quite a novelty, in much smaller quantities than wines of Gascony or of the Rhine, and they could not confine their business to the exclusive sale of sweet wines, whilst they were loth to give up keeping these, for which the demand was increasing. Many protested against the ordinance, the object of which was stated

\* Letter Book G., fo. cccxiib.  
47 Ed. III. 24th December, 1373.  
† Letter Book F., fo. ccxiv. 26  
Ed. III. 26th May, 1352.

‡ Letter Book G., fo. iib. Janu-  
ary, 1353. 26 Ed. III.

to be the protection of the public health from the supposed danger of mixed drinks. No efforts on the part of the trade were, however, successful in obtaining the absolute repeal of so arbitrary a measure, but special licences were, however, granted by the King to some taverners to keep all sorts of wine provided they promised not to mix them.

As early as February 1353, for instance, a writ was sent to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "that they allow Francisco de Janua and Panino Guillelmi, servant of Francisco de Spynola, of Janua, to sell red and white wines, as well as sweet wines, kept in separate cellars although in the same tavern, notwithstanding the custom to the contrary, on their making oaths not to mix them." \*

That others obtained similar licences, or paid little heed to the prohibition against keeping sweet and other wines simultaneously, is evidenced by the fact that this prohibition had to be re-enacted and amplified in 1357. Proclamation was then made in London "that no taverner sell wine of *Vernaccia*, *Creet* and other sweet wines and Rhenish (*Reney*s), nor sell by any measure except standard measure sealed, like other kinds of wine, under penalty; and that any taverner who has such kind of sweet wine to sell shall not put other wine of Gascony or Rhenish in the same cellar to sell in the same tavern, on pain of forfeiture of the wine, as ordained and proclaimed recently (*einz ces houres*) by writ of our lord the King." †

On January 22nd 1360, a repetition of the prohibition of the sale of sweet wines was enacted,‡

\* Letter Book G, fo. iii b. 27  
Ed. III. 26th February, 1353.

† Letter Book G., fo. lxxi b.  
13th December, 1357.

‡ Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*,  
Part II., p. 106.

and in 1365 the sale of sweet wines, *such as those coming from Languedoc*, was altogether prohibited by Edward.\* But, at the same time, the King specified that the denomination "sweet" applied to a very limited class of wines; thus, the Mayor of Dartmouth, who, on the strength of the royal prohibition, had ordered the seizure of wines of *Osoye, d' Algrave*, and of Spain, which had been imported by some townfolk for their own use, was informed by the King that "Spanish wines were not included in the recent prohibition of the sale of sweet wines."†

At the same time, an attempt was made to place the sale of sweet wines in the hands of the London municipal authorities. To simplify matters and facilitate supervision, although sweet wines were still to be sold wholesale, they were not to be retailed to the consumer in more than three taverns, one in Cheapside, one in Lombard Street, and one in Walbrook, all three under municipal control, and the proceeds of all such sales were to be devoted to municipal ends.

The King ordered the Mayor and Sheriffs of London to publish these regulations for the sale of sweet wines, the chief features of which were as follows: "Taverners were to be allowed to sell sweet wine by wholesale, notwithstanding an ordinance by the King and his Council that all taverns where sweet wines were sold by retail in the City and suburbs were to be taken into the hands of the Mayor and Chamberlain and that there should only be three taverns appointed for such sale, viz., one in Chepe, another in Lumbard Strete, and another in

\* Rot. Litt. Claus., 39 Ed. III., m. 6d.; C/. m. 1d.

† Rot. Litt. Claus., 39 Ed. III., m. 4. 15th January, 1366.

Walbroke, where the wines were to be sold at a price fixed by the Mayor and Chamberlain at the beginning of each year, and the profits devoted to the repair and cleansing of the walls, ditches, etc., of the City." \*

Evidently unable to conduct the sale of sweet wines at the three specified taverns by municipal officers, the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City leased them to Richard Lyouns, a vintner, to hold for term of ten years, at an annual rental of £200 ; he was not, however, to abuse his monopoly, but sell sweet wines at a reasonable price, viz., a gallon of fine Vernage for 32d. ; other *Vernage* at 2s. ; *Malvesyn*, *Romanye*, *Ryvere*, *Rybole*, *Candy*, *Clarre*, and all other sweet wines at 16d.†

On 22nd January 1366, a writ was sent to the Sheriffs of London to make proclamation forbidding the sale of sweet wines by retail,‡ but, in consideration of bribes dignified by the name of fines, letters patent were soon after accorded by the King permitting certain persons to buy and sell such wines by retail. This permission was, for instance, granted to John Pecche, or his deputies, for a term of five years, "notwithstanding an ordinance recently made in Parliament to the effect that no merchant, stranger or otherwise, should sell sweet wines by retail within the realm." §

It was not until the last year of Edward's reign that sweet wines were again allowed to be sold freely ; on the 2nd of February 1377, the King ordered the Mayor and bailiffs of Salisbury and Southampton to

\* Letter Book G, fo. clvii. 39 Ed. III. 28th May, 1365. Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. III., Part II., p. 768.

† Letter Book G, fo. clxv b. 39 Ed. III., 26th August, 1365.

‡ *Ibid.*, fo. clxxii. 39 Ed. III.

§ *Ibid.* fo. cccxi b. 47 Ed. III. 30th November, 1373. In this case, however, the monopoly thus granted to John Pecche was annulled by Parliament.

proclaim that Parliament had removed the prohibition of the sale of sweet wines.\*

Whilst the King and Commons were hampering the growth of the wine trade in England by their incessant and often contradictory legislation, much benefit was derived by this branch of commerce from the greater security merchants came to enjoy at sea during the earlier part of Edward III.'s reign. This monarch, who was the first to assert the right of the Kings of England to the sovereignty of the sea,† took the keenest interest in all naval affairs, and he is the only English sovereign who gained, in his own person, two signal naval victories, fighting on one occasion until his ship actually sank under him.

The paramount superiority of the English navy during the first half of Edward's reign was most beneficial to the maritime commerce of the nation; but the victories of the Sluys and Les Espagnols sur Mer led the English to imagine that they were always to retain the command of the sea, and whilst France and Spain increased their naval strength rapidly, the navy of England remained stationary and soon lost its superiority. Defeats at sea, the partial destruction of commerce, constant invasions attended by rapine and bloodshed, were the consequences of this fatal error.

Those piratical acts which had disgraced the earlier periods of naval history desolated once more the shores of both France and England, and the

\* Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 477.

† *Consideratio etiam quod pro genitores nostri Reges Angliæ, in hujusmodi turbationibus, inter ipsos et alios terrarum exterarum dominos, motis, DOMINI MARIS ET TRANS-*

*MARINI PASSAGII, totis præteritis temporibus, extiterunt, et plurimum nos læderet si honor noster regius, nostris temporibus, in aliquo læderetur.* 11th December, 1336. See Sir H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, Vol. II., p. 23.



safety of the numerous ships engaged in the wine trade became very precarious. With a very commendable prudence, Edward had given strict orders forbidding single ships to venture on a voyage to any part of France; the safety of all and every merchantman was of the greatest moment to the King, who relied on the merchant service for the supply of the provisions he stood in need of, as well as for the transport of his armies when on an expedition abroad.

But, in spite of the royal prohibitions and the penalty of forfeiture enacted, many ships belonging to various English ports, went to Gascony singly and at their will to fetch wine; some of these were captured by the enemy "to the shame, disgrace and peril of the King and his realm." Being justly displeased at such a state of affairs Edward caused it to be proclaimed "that he ordained that all and every ship westwards of the Thames, capable of crossing the sea, should be immediately manned, armed and stored, and sent to Portsmouth by the 7th of December (1336), so that, these vessels being thus collected, the ships which were going to Gascony for wine and merchandise might proceed and return in large fleets; and that other ships, for their own safety and the conservation of his royal honour and the advantage of the realm, and also to attack the said aliens if these presumed to molest them, should safely convoy them out and home." Severe punishment was threatened if any master or mariner disobeyed those commands; and they were warned of the danger incurred by vessels proceeding singly.\*

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\* Rot. Scot. I., pp. 476, 468, 470. Sir H. N. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, T. II., p. 21.

Ships going to Gascony from ports north of the Thames were ordered to rendezvous at Orwell by the 1st of December; and surveyors were appointed to see that the ships of both fleets were in proper order.\*

On the 3rd December, when the fleets had been assembled at Portsmouth and Orwell, Sir Oliver Ingham, Seneschal of Gascony, was informed that they were about to go there for wine; and that it was the King's pleasure the vessels should not return singly, but those leaving Bordeaux were to await the arrival of the ships from Bayonne, and thus, forming one fleet, be able "to act consistently with his royal honour." If any Flemish ships arrived in Gascony they were to be forthwith arrested and detained.†

Similar orders and the nomination of the admiral who was to take charge of the fleet going to Bordeaux for wine are to be found in the Gascon Rolls.‡

On the 18th October 1350, a writ was sent to the Sheriffs of the City of London for proclamation to be made that ships engaged in the wine trade with Gascony were to proceed forthwith to Plymouth (*Plomuthe*), and thence to set sail under the safe conduct of John de Cheversdone, the King's Seneschal of Gascony, and John Charnels, his Constable of Bordeaux.

In 1353, Edward proclaimed that the vessels sailing for Gascony should all assemble at Chalcheford,||

\* Rot. Scot. I., pp. 467, 468, 470. Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, T. II., p. 21.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. II., p. 952.

‡ See Rot. Vasc., 26 Ed. III., m. 9, and 30 Ed. III., m. 2., etc.

§ Letter Book F, fo. cxcii., 24 Ed. III., and Delnit, *Collect. des doc. fr.*, etc., p. 76.

|| This was probably Calshot Castle outside Southampton Water, a point which was known as Calshord (11 Hen. VII. c. 5). The Gascony trade had flourished there in the time of Edward I. (Rot. Parl. I. 193, 10). Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce. Early and Middle Ages*, p. 304.

on September 8th, and sail thence under the charge of royal officers.\*

These fleets sailing from England in the winter to fetch the wines of the last vintage consisted of at least 100 vessels, and sometimes twice that number. Froissart depicts the arrival at Bordeaux of a fleet of 200 merchantmen coming from England, Wales and Scotland to fetch wines.† In 1350, 141 ships left Bordeaux for England with 13,429 tuns of wine, or nearly 100 tuns for each ship; the duty payable at Bordeaux for this wine amounting to 5,104 livres 16 sous, Bordeaux money.‡

The return of these fleets to England took place, usually, early in the following year, in January or February, although they were sometimes detained longer, either by continual contrary winds or by fear of an enemy numerically stronger.

The ships belonging to the port of Hull, according to the accounts of John Leversedge and John of Tutbury, arrived back one year in the month of April, with 250 casks of wine.§

In spite of the greatest precautions and every effort to ensure the safety of shipping, many of the

\* Delpit, Collection des doc. fr., etc. No. clxv. See Brissaud, Les Anglais en Guienne.

† Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart., anno 1373, Liv. I., Part II., deux cents nefes d'une voile, marchans d'Angleterre et de Galles et d'Ecosse et qui de la alloient aux vins.

‡ Mém. de littérature de l'Académie royale des inscript. et belles-lettres, T. xxxvii., p. 530. F. Michel. Hist. du Com., etc., Vol. I., p. 402.

§ Frost, Notices, etc., Appendix, pp. 1, 2. Some idea of the importance of certain English ports

may be derived from the number of merchant ships from each of these at the Siege of Calais, in 1346: Fowey, 47; Yarmouth, 43; Dartmouth, 31; Plymouth, 26; London, 25; Bristol, 24; Sandwich, 22; Winchelsea, 21; Southampton, 21; Weymouth, 20; Looe, 20; Shoreham, 20; Newcastle, 17; Boston, 17; Hull, 16; Dover, 16; Lynn, 16; Margate, 15; Harwich, 14; Gosport, 13; Ipswich, 12; Grimsby, 11; Exmouth, 10. Geo. L. Craik. The History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times. 1844. Vol. I., p. 141.

vessels engaged in the wine trade fell a prey either to the enemy or to native pirates.

In 1342, some wines of the Rhine (*de Rino*) were captured by the French as they were being brought to England,\* whilst two ships, laden with 234 tuns of wine, were captured by some English mariners off the Isle of Wight and brought to Dartmouth.† Devonshire and Cornwall were the homes of many daring and lawless sailors at whose hands the wine trade suffered heavy losses both at sea and in port. In 1346, for instance, some merchants of Bruxelles, in Brabant, having freighted a ship with 155 tuns of wine at Peyto, were forced by a storm to put in St. Ives' Bay, where their wine was immediately plundered by the natives.‡ An English subject had a similar fate abroad in that same year.§

A few months previously, at the close of the year 1345, in spite of the newly-signed alliance between the Kings of England and Spain, some

\* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., Part II., m. 21d. 20th July, 1342.

† *Ibid.*, Part I., m. 18d. 20th April, 1342.

‡ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III., Part I., m. 6d. A few years previously William de Clynton, Earl of Huntingdon, Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, was ordered to hear the complaints and to do justice to the merchants of Spain, Portugal, Catalonia and Aquitaine who have suffered loss in the Channel at the hands of the King's subjects. Calendar of Close Rolls, 11 Ed. III., Part II., m. 5. 5th January, 1338. Three months later, a Commission of oyer and terminer was issued touching the forcible taking away from Bristol, by men of Bristol and Chepstow, of a ship laden with wines, before the prises due to the King and the customs,

amounting to £40 had been paid. Calendar of Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 10d. 24th April, 1338.

§ On the 20th of March, 1346, a Commission of oyer and terminer was issued on complaint that a ship called *La Rikenburgh*, of Campe, whereof John Vanas of Campe, merchant of the King's son, Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, was master, freighted with wines, goods and other merchandise of the Prince and other merchants and lieges, which lately put in at the port of *Sinethies*, in the Duchy, was forcibly taken away from the port with the cargo as well as the customs due to the Prince thereon; after that the master, mariners and servants had been horribly cast out from the ship. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III., Part I., m. 22d.

Dartmouth sailors had captured at sea and sunk a Spanish ship freighted with seventy-two tuns and one pipe of white wine, and the Spaniards, having applied for redress to Edward, were only comforted with the expression of the monarch's goodwill towards them,\* but they had not obtained satisfaction more than two years later.†

In 1347, a special additional tax of 2s. per tun of wine was imposed, the proceeds of which were to be entirely devoted to the upkeep of "ships of war protecting the realm from enemies."‡

This tax was willingly paid by the wine merchants, who recognised the great benefit they had derived from the formation of the large fleets going to Gascony accompanied by armed vessels. They were anxious to retain this system, which had, however, the deplorable effect of leaving the south coast of England wholly unprotected during the passage to and from Bordeaux; during the winter of 1338, for instance, the French came as far as Southampton,

\* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III., par. I., m. 35 and m. 32d. 4th February, 1346. Whereas Sanchius Dieus, merchant of Spain, whose wines and other goods in a ship of Spain called *La Seinte Marie Magdaleine*, of Plesaunce, while crossing to Flanders, were forcibly taken on the sea and carried by subjects of the King, is suing in the King's courts and elsewhere according to the remedy granted to him by the King, for restitution of the same; the King having regard to the alliance lately entered into between him and the King of Spain, has taken the said Sanchius and his servants and things into his special protection and safeguard for such time as he be about the said business

Several other Spanish ships laden with wine were captured in 1346. See Calendar of Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III., Part II., m. 22.

See also Calendar of Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. III., Part III., m. 9d. (18th November, 1341.) Wreck of a ship from Spain, laden with wine, at the Isle of Wight; also Calendar Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. III., Part III., m. 6d., and 16 Ed. III., Part I., m. 16d. Capture of a ship from Normandy laden with wine.

† Calendar Patent Rolls, 22 Ed. III., Part III., m. 17d.

‡ Rot. Parl. II., p. 100. This tax remained in force throughout Edward III.'s reign. See Letter Book G. fo. ccc b.

which they pillaged,\* and retired unmolested. Although the proceeds of the new tax were destined to the defence of the coast and would have been sufficient to ensure the safety of the southern shores of England, they were evidently diverted into some other channels, and acts of piracy became even more frequent than in the past.

Don Luis de la Cerda distinguished himself in this barbarous warfare.† In 1349, in spite of the truce which had been signed by the Kings of France and England, he waited, with a Spanish squadron, of which he had been given the command, for the returning merchantmen who had been to Bordeaux from England to fetch the new wines; trusting to the truce, they came back in November without adhering to the fleet formation, and many were captured by the Spaniards off the coast of Brittany.

Another outrage was committed by “evildoers of Spain” in 1349, off the coast of Normandy,‡ and such aggressions led naturally to retaliation and were signally avenged. The King received, in 1349,

\* They even helped themselves to some of the King's wines and, after their departure, the men of the town and of the neighbourhood carried away what was left, to the great annoyance of the King. Calendar Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 10d. and 13 Ed. III., Part I., m. 8d.

† In 1342, Don Luis had taken Guerrande, where he found many vessels laden with wine that had arrived from Poitou and Rochelle. See Froissart, vol. I., p. 155.

‡ Commission to Henry Sturmy, Sheriff of Southampton, and John Frost, Mayor of Southampton, to make inquisitions in the county of Southampton, touching a complaint by John de Oure, mariner,

Nicholas de Stok of Norwich, merchant, and Thomas de Coventre of Bristol, merchant, that whereas they lately loaded a ship called *la Rode*, cog of Leminton, whereof the said John was master, with wine, mead, leather (*allula*), canvas and other merchandise to make their profit of in England, at Harefleür, in Normandy, some evildoers of Spain, abetted by men of Menstrevillers and Leure of the power of France, in two armed ships of Spain made an attack on the said ship when on its way to England in the water of Seyn, before Kydecaus, in the time of the truce with France. Cal. of Patent Rolls, 23 Ed. III., Part II., m. 12d. 20th July, 1349.

a complaint from the burgomasters, échevins and consuls of Bruges, that whereas Dounnie de Stentorm and other burgesses of that town, trusting in the security last entered into between him and the men of Flanders, freighted a ship called *La Seinte Marie of Mortrike*, whereof Nicholas Petri was master, to go to Lissebon for goods and merchandise, and bring the same to Sluys (*Lescluse*), and the ship after taking in ninety-six tuns of wine and eighteen bales of fur (pelleterie) at Lissebon, was returning to the said town, between Jersey and the Isle of Wight, some malefactors, men of Wynchelse, coming upon them and assailing the said merchants and others therein, after killing and throwing into the sea very many of the crew, brought the ship thence to Dartmouth, and there at their will emptied it of most of the remaining wine, etc.\*

In the following year (17 August, 1350) Sir John Beauchamp, Captain of Calais, was appointed admiral of a fleet, the special function of which was to protect merchants and others on their passage to and from the King's dominions.†

Many such commissions were given to distinguished sailors, although ships and money were often wanting, so that, imperative as were the King's commands, they were but imperfectly obeyed. It was to obviate this difficulty that, in 1359, the King's Council imposed another additional tax of 6d. in the £ on all merchandise imported or exported, until the following Michaelmas; this tax was to provide the means of maintaining a fleet at sea for the special protection of the trade of the country

\* Cal. Patent Rolls, 23 Ed. III.,  
p. II., m. 26d.

† Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. III.,  
p. 187.

which was constantly threatened by pirates and the King's enemies. The remarkable part of this tax is that it was imposed without the consent of Parliament, being agreed to, however, by the native and foreign merchants summoned before the Council.\*

As regards the purchases of wine of Edward III., they seem to have been chiefly confined to the supplies of his armies and the victualling of his castles.

In 1327, 300 casks were bought by Richard de Pole, the King's Butler,† for Scotland, and two years later Richard had again to buy 200 casks of wine at Hull and to send them to Berwick.‡

In 1333, Edward ordered 600 casks of wine for his Irish wars to be sent from Gascony, 400 casks to Dublin, and 200 to Waterford.§

At the same time 200 tuns were directed to be bought and safely kept for the King's use in places conveniently situated so that they could be delivered at short notice whenever wanted for the royal household;|| a further supply of 100 tuns was also to be bought without delay and carried as far as Halieland, to be delivered by indenture to the receiver of the King's wines and other victuals there.¶

\* Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. III., p. 459.

† *Calend. Close Rolls*, 1 Ed. III., Part II., m. 21.

‡ *Rotul. original. in curia Scaccarii, Abbrevatio*. Vol. II., fo. 90, col. I. (2 and 3 Ed. III.). In 1334, Richard de la Pole was ordered to buy 500 casks of wine in Guienne, 400 of which were to be sent to Hull. *Rot. Vasc.*, 8 Ed. III., m. 1.

§ *Rot. Vasc.*, 6 Ed. III., m. 7. Cork is not mentioned then, but there are proofs of regular transactions existing, in 1354, between Cork and Bordeaux. See *Rot. Vasc.*, 28 Ed. III., m. 8.

|| *Calend. Close Rolls*, 7 Ed. III., Part I., m. 11. 2nd June, 1333.

¶ *Ibid.*, 7 Ed. III., Part I., m. 12. 15th May, 1333.



In 1334, a writ de intendendo was directed to bailiffs, ministers and lieges in Ireland with respect to the carriage of wines being sent by Richard de la Pole, the King's Butler which were to be kept in certain places for the King's use.\*

At about the same time, the receiver of the King's victuals at Carlisle was ordered to receive from Richard de la Pole all the *old* wines then at Dublin and Crakfergus, in Ireland; † later in the same year, the receivers of the King's victuals at Berwick-upon-Tweed were directed to receive 200 tuns of wine which Richard de la Pole was ordered to cause to be purchased in the port of Kyngeston-upon-Hull "without offering any excuse and without delay." ‡

In January, 1335, the Butler was again ordered to cause "500 tuns of wine of the present season of wines of rack, § to be bought and purveyed in the Duchy of Aquitaine for the King's use, beyond those 200 tuns of wine which the King lately ordered to be purveyed by the Butler there, as may best be done for the King's convenience, and to cause 100 tuns of the said 500 to be taken to and stored at London, and the remaining 400 tuns to be taken to Kingston-upon-Hull." ||

In the following month, Richard de la Pole was further directed to cause 300 tuns of wine of the "present season of rack" to be bought in ports and

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 8 Ed. III., Part II., m. 6. 4th February, 1334.

† Calend. Close Rolls, 8 Ed. III., m. 3. 4th January, 1334. In 1338, 6 tuns of *old* wine remaining in Nottingham Castle were ordered to be sent to Berwick. Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III.,

Part III., m. 10. 10th December, 1338.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls, 8 Ed. III., m. 6. 18th November, 1334.

§ For information respecting wines of *rack* and wines of the *vintage*, see *infra*, ch. XI., p. 265-267.

|| Calend. Close Rolls, 8 Ed. III., m. 3. 4th January, 1335.

places within the realm for the King's use, and to cause 200 tuns of that wine to be taken to Kingston-upon-Hull, and the remaining 100 tuns to be taken to London.\* This order was, however, cancelled a little later on account of a supply of 700 tuns which were to be forwarded by the constable of Bordeaux.†

In 1336, the purchases of wine for the King's use were very large; 100 tuns were ordered to be bought, in February, in ports and places within the realm, eighty of which were to be sent to Berwick and twenty to Newcastle-on-Tyne.‡ In July, 300 tuns of good wine were directed to be bought as follows:—120 tuns in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull, 10 tuns at Boston (? *Sancto Batho*); 100 tuns in London; 20 tuns at Wynchelse and Sandwich respectively; and 30 tuns at Bristol.§ Six tuns of good wine were at the same time ordered to be delivered without delay to William FitzWaryn, keeper of the Castle of Montgomery, or his attorney, for the munition of that castle.||

In the following month, twenty tuns of wine were ordered to be bought “with all speed” in London or elsewhere, and delivered to Nicholas de la Beche, Constable of the Tower of London, for the munition of the Tower.¶

The King also bought fifty tuns of wine at Southampton from William de Monte Acuto, at the rate of 60s. the tun,\*\* and he ordered 100 tuns

\* *Calend. Close Rolls*, 9 Ed. III., m. 35. 1st February, 1335.

† *Ibid.*, 9 Ed. III., m. 9d. 20th August, 1335.

‡ *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 41. 12th February, 1336.

§ *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 20. 5th July, 1336.

|| *Calend. Close Rolls*, 10 Ed. III., m. 20. 12th July, 1336.

¶ *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 17 and m. 15. 28th August, 1336.

\*\* *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 7. 27th November, 1336.

to be bought at Kingston-upon-Hull and carried to Skymburnesse, to Robert Tybay, receiver of the King's victuals at Carlisle.\* From the same port of Hull a further purchase of 120 tuns was to be made, fifty tuns of which were to be sent to York, for the King and his household, ten tuns to Pontefract Castle, twenty tuns to Doncaster for the King and his household on their approaching visit there, and the remaining forty tuns to be safely kept at Kingston-upon-Hull until further orders.†

In December, 1336, the King's Butler was also ordered to cause forty tuns of wine to be bought with all speed in the port of London, twenty tuns thereof "to be delivered by indenture to John de Touke for the *burial* of John, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and to keep the remaining twenty tuns in the said city for the King's use."‡

The Royal Exchequer does not seem to have been able to furnish all the necessary money for these repeated purchases of wine; funds were, in some instances, advanced by Richard de la Pole, the King's Butler, to whom Edward granted 500 marks in 1336, "in consideration of his services and his loss by reason of the provisions of wine made several times with his own money."§

In 1337, the King proffered his claim to the French Crown, a step which was the signal for the Hundred Years' War. The purchases of wine during 1338, when Edward was preparing for the invasion of France, were on a very extensive scale. The monarch acknowledged his indebtedness to Richard

\* *Calend. Close Rolls*, 10 Ed. III., m. 5. 10th December, 1336.

† *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 8. 4th December, 1336.

‡ *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 4. 23rd December, 1336.

§ *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. III., m. 29. 6th May, 1336.

de la Pole, citizen of London, in £433 6s. 8d. for 100 tuns of Gascon wine, and to John de Pulteneye in £221 for fifty-one tuns, bought for him by Michael Mynyot, the Butler, with promise to pay for the same at Easter.\* The King, at the same time, granted his protection, until the Feast of All Saints, for the master of a ship called *La Seint Pere*, of Waterford, freighted at Bristol with sixty tuns of wine bought for the King pursuant to an order to buy with all speed 500 tuns of Gascon wine, with other victuals to be sent him from England; the protection to extend to the master, mariners, and the ship on her voyage from and back to Bristol.† In the following month, however, another royal order directed that the 500 tuns of wine which were then on board ships and ready to be sent over to the King “in parts beyond the sea” should be unloaded forthwith and stored safely in English ports.‡ The Constable of Windsor Castle was at the same time supplied with eight tuns of wine for the munition of the castle.§

In November, when the newly-made wines arrived in England, 107 tuns were taken for the King's use from some Bayonne merchants, 214 tuns were bought to the same end from some wine merchants of Bordeaux and St. Emilion (Emylione), and about twenty-four tuns were supplied by William de Lando, a Bordeaux merchant, for the munition

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part II., m. 42. 7th August, 1338; also Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 13 and 14. 5th and 8th September, 1338.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 15. 1st September, 1338. Earlier in the year, the royal protection had been granted to some Drogheda merchants sending their ships with

wines, fish and other victuals from Ireland to make their profit of in England. Calend. Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 38. 12th February, 1338.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls. 12 Ed. III., Part II., m. 3. 9th October, 1338.

§ *Ibid.*, 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 31. 22nd October, 1338.

of castles and other places in Scotland.\* On December 5th, 160 tuns of wine were sent from London to the King "beyond the seas" in two ships which met with foul weather on leaving the Thames, one being entirely wrecked and eighty tuns of the wine on board lost, whilst fourteen tuns were washed ashore and sold at Orford by command.†

On the 2nd of January, 1339, sixteen tuns of wine were ordered to be bought at Sandwich and sent to Dover for the victualling of the Castle there. ‡ and numerous other such purchases of wine took place during that year.

The ordinary resources of the Royal Exchequer could not suffice to pay for all the wine bought for the King and his armies, and the proceeds of special taxes on the clergy in Wales to the amount of £681 5s. 3½d. were paid over to Michael Mynyot, the King's Butler, at Bristol, before Easter, 1338, for the purveyance of the King's butlery,§ whilst the merchants of the Societies of the Bardi and Peruzzi were ordered to pay £1,000 to the said Butler, "so

\* Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 22 and 20. 12th November, 1338. On 30th July, 1338, the King had already ordered that wine should be sent to Berwick for the munition of royal castles in Scotland. See *Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera*, I., 305; R. II., p. II., 1052, etc.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 13 Ed. III., Part I., m. 14, and Part II., m. 27. Such sales of wine washed ashore from wrecked vessels were unfortunately not rare; in 1346, a Commission was nominated by the King to make inquisitions in the county of Sussex touching the "great quantities of wine washed ashore from wrecked ships and pertaining to the King as his wreck, which are said to have been

carried away by men of that county and are detained from him." Calend. Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III. Part II., m. 9d. 22nd July, 1346.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 4. 2nd January, 1339.

§ Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 27. 6th March, 1338. This sum was obtained from the collectors of the triennial tenth, granted by the clergy of the province of Canterbury, as follows: Diocese of Bangor, £86 2s. 7d.; Diocese of Asaph, £128 12s. 3d.; Archdeaconry of Cardiganshire, £48 0s. 10½d.; Archdeaconry of St. David's, £96 12s. 5½d.; Archdeaconry of Brecon, £72 3s. 3½d.; Archdeaconry of Kermertyn, £42 5s. 3d.; Diocese of Llandaff, £207 8s. 6½d.

that the purveyance of wine ordained for the King's passage may not be delayed for lack of payment."\*

The shipments of wine made to the King and his host during their devastating invasion of France in 1339 were considerable, the enormous sum of £3,800 being due by the monarch, in 1340, for this commodity alone.†

In 1341, Reymund Seguyn, the royal Butler, was ordered to purvey 500 tuns of wine for the King, ‡ whilst wine to the value of £100 was bought from one Bartholomew Deumars, and no less than £2,000 worth was ordered to be sent to the said Butler in part payment of what he owed for sundry purchases of wine.§ At the same time, Seguyn obtained leave to keep for the needs of his office and to have absolute control over the additional tax of 2s. per tun of wine granted by foreign merchants|| in return for the renewal of Edward I.'s charter of liberties.

In 1342 the King's Butler was commissioned to

\* Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part I., m. 31. 20th June, 1338.

† Assignment, by advice of the council, to Reymund Seguyn, the King's Butler, of £3,800 out of the subsidy of sheaves, lambs and fleeces, to wit, £2,800 in the county of Essex and £1,000 in the county of Oxford, towards his expenses for divers purveyances of wine made for the King's use while in parts beyond the seas and since he has been within the seas, as well as for his present passage and also for other like purveyances for the household. Cal. of Patent Rolls, 14 Ed. III., Part II., m. 9. 30th May, 1340.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. III., Part II., m. 31 and 22. 28th July, 1341.

Calend. Close Rolls, 15 Ed.

III., Part I., m. 23. 20th April, 1341.

§ *Ibid.*, m. 16. 26th April, 1341. To William de-Edyngton, receiver of the subsidy of the ninth on this side of the Trent. Order to pay to Reymund Segwyn, the King's Butler, £2,000 of the first money of that subsidy in county Kent in part payment of divers great sums in which the King is bound to him for purveyances of wine made by him for the King's use.

|| Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. III., Part I., m. 19. 15th April, 1341. . . . 2s. on every tun of wine imported by merchants of Almain, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Provence, Catalonia, the Duchy of Aquitaine, Toulouse, Cahors, Flanders, Brabant and other foreign lands and places. . . .

make with all speed divers purveyances of wine for the King's passage beyond the seas.\*

Edward was then in Brittany, and amongst the merchants who supplied him with wine, there were William de Cassex and his associates, of Bordeaux, to whom £330 was due for 165 tuns of wine bought from them for the King's use in Brittany,† also Peter de la Longare and Peter de Bardyn, merchants of Bordeaux, to whom £140 was due for sixty tuns of wine bought for the same use.‡

In 1343, £86 6s. 8d. was due to Peter de Camperyen, citizen and merchant of Bordeaux, for thirty-seven tuns of wine delivered by him to James de Pype, keeper of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, in part payment of the wages of the said James and his men in garrison there.§ Wine seems to have been very much appreciated in the North of England and in Scotland, and Edward III., who sometimes sent presents of wine for the Scottish King,|| kept a large stock, amounting to 1,047 tuns, in 1342, for his garrisons in the border towns.¶

In 1344, the Butler received another grant of 1,000 marks to buy wines for the King, who issued strict instructions that this money should be handed

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., Part I., m. 15. 1st July, 1342. By advice of the council he (the King) has assigned to the said Reymund 130 sacks of his wool, in the county of Kent, of the present year, beyond the 167 sacks of the said wool, previously assigned for the expenses of his office, to be received by the hands of the collectors and receivers, at the price of £6 the sack, beyond the ancient custom of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark due to the King.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., Part III., m. 10. 29th November, 1342.

‡ *Ibid.*, m. 2. 20th December, 1342.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 17 Ed. III., Part II., m. 34. 16th August, 1343.

|| On 30th December, 1335, 3rd October, 1336, and 12th October, 1338. Syllabus I., 282, 285, 306; R. II., p. II., 929, etc.

¶ Calend. Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., Part II., m. 10d. 29th September, 1342. See Appendix.

at once to his Butler to enable him to complete the necessary purchases.\* This sum was, however, quite inadequate for the purchases of wine made by Edward for his second invasion of France. In 1345, he acknowledged himself bound to several merchants of Aquitaine for wines taken for his use to the extent of £750 6s. 10d., for which he was graciously pleased to make them a gift of £100 beyond the sum due, as a compensation for the inconvenience that might be caused to them by his inability to pay promptly. Besides this sum, there was £490 due by the King to merchants of Boston, Bristol, Sandwich, Southampton, Topsham, Great Yarmouth and Kingston-upon-Hull, who had also been made to supply wines for the King's use, and who received likewise a free gift of £100 to divide amongst themselves as a compensation for the non-payment of the principal of their debt.† Yet, in spite of such large sums due, which he was unable to pay, the King ordered that a further supply of 100 tuns of wine be purchased in the ports of Southampton and Bristol, "and other places towards the west," and brought with all speed to the port of Portsmouth.‡

In 1345, a shipment of 240 pipes of wine bought in Gascony for the King's use and sent to London was wrecked before reaching the Thames, near the Isle of Thanet, and most of the pipes being washed

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 18 Ed. III., Part I., m. 28 and 26. 17th April, 1344. See Appendix. In May, 1344, the Mayor and Sheriffs of Sandwich were ordered to detain under arrest a ship called *La cog Edward*, laden with wine, arrested by them for the King's service by virtue of his order to them, and to cause the said

wine to be kept safely until further order. Calend. Close Rolls, 18 Ed. III., Part I., m. 11. 2nd May, 1344.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 18 Ed. III., Part II., m. 1. 15th January, 1345. See Appendix.

‡ *Ibid.*, 19 Ed. III., Part II., m. 18. 10th September, 1345.



ashore, were carried away by the Kentish folk.\* On the other hand, some Bordeaux merchants who had during that same year shipped 304 tuns of wine in two ships called cogges of Flanders, to be delivered in the City of London, had the disappointment to learn that their wines had been seized by order of the King, when off the coast of Brittany, and taken to Hennebont for his use and that of his army.†

In 1346, the King promised Galiard Sadas, merchant of Gascony, to pay him, at Michaelmas, £133 19s. 7d. due for 43 tuns of wine bought from him.‡

In 1347, the King's Butler was ordered to cause fifty tuns of wine to be bought and purveyed in suitable places without delay and taken to Caley's,§ whilst Thomas de Ebor[aco], citizen and vintner of London, was sent to Gascony to buy wine for the King,|| the royal Butler being sent on a similar mission in 1350.¶

Although the financial difficulties which harassed Edward III. during the latter part of his reign forced him to buy less and less wine every year, he was nevertheless always supplied with this commodity, and could even afford to be generous with it. In 1358, he ordered his Butler, at the time Henry Pycard, to send four casks of wine to Somerton Castle, for the use of his adversary of France.\*\* This unfortunate

\* Calend. Close Rolls, 19 Ed. III., Part I., m. 8. 12th June, 1345.

† *Ibid.*, 19 Ed. III., Part I., m. 5. 6th June, 1345.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III., Part I., m. 7. 19th May, 1346.

§ Calend. Close Rolls, 21 Ed. III., Part I., m. 26. 17th March, 1347. See also 22 Ed. III., Part I., m. 39. 3rd February, 1348.

|| Calend. Patent Rolls, 21 Ed. III., Part II., m. 3. 24th August, 1347.

¶ *Ibid.*, 24 Ed. III., Part I., m. 35. 6th February, 1350.

\*\* Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, T. I., p. 398. 3rd December, 1358. A few years later, when the King of France sent fifty pipes of wine as a present to Edward III., the King of England refused to accept them and sent them back. Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, T. I., p. 450.

monarch's captivity in London was rendered a little lighter by the abundance and excellence of French wine sent to him. Guichard de Lorays and Denys Bouis brought him 120 casks of wine from the Toulousain in 1359, which were reduced by leakage or other causes to 112 casks, and one pipe of wine and one pipe of vinegar were soon afterwards being lodged in poor King John's cellar.\*

In the following year (1360), when the Dukes de Berry, d'Auvergne, d'Anjou and du Maine were going to England as hostages for the King of France, they asked some merchants of Rabastens to bring them 200 casks of wine for their private use.†

#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER BOOKS IN THE GUILDHALL CONCERNING THE REGULATIONS FOR THE SALE OF WINE IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

*Ordinance made as to the Sale of Wines within the City, 16 Edw. III.*  
A.D. 1342. *Letter Book F., fo. lxiii.*

At a congregation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and an immense number of the Commonalty, on Monday, the Feast of St. Peter in Chains [1st August], in the 16th year of the reign of King Edward the Third, etc., there being present, Simon Fraunceys, the Mayor, John de Grantham, and other Aldermen, and the Sheriffs, it was‡ ordained and agreed that no taverner, should mix putrid and corrupt wine with wine that is good and pure, or should forbid that, when any company is drinking wine in his tavern, one of them, for himself and the rest of the company, shall enter the

\* Journal de la dépense du roi Jean en Angleterre, publié par M. Douet d'Arcey parmi les Comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France, p. 203. See also Syllabus, 402. 25th July, 1359.

† Rot. Franc., 34 Ed. III., m. 4. A safe conduct was granted on

January 30th, 1354, to John Meyngre, *alias* Bussigand, the King's prisoner, to import 600 casks of Gascon wine. Syllabus to Rymer's Fœdera, T. I., p. 377.

‡ In compliance with an injunction issued by the King on the 14th of July.

cellar where the tuns or pipes are then lying, and see that the measures and vessels into which the wine is poured, are quite empty and clean within ; and in like manner, from what tun or what pipe the wine is so drawn. And if any taverner should refuse to do this, he was to incur punishment, at the discretion of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, upon him to be inflicted.

And be it known, that all the vintners underwritten were present and to the same ordinance consenting, namely—Thomas Gisors, Nicholas Ponge, John Hablond, John Blaunche, John Fynche, John Chaucer, — Blakecolle, Robert de Hanwode, Henri Fannere, John de Stodeye, Walter atte Goate, John de Coggeshale, John Fychet, John Beaufflour, and John de Cliftone, vintners.

*Royal injunction, in favour of two Genoese, keeping tavern in the City, 27 Edw. III., A.D. 1353. Letter Book G., fo. iii.*

“ Edward, by the grace of God, etc., to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, greeting. It has been shown unto us by Francisco of Genoa, and Panino Guillelmi, servant of Francisco de Spynola of Genoa, that whereas they have lately taken a certain tavern, with the two adjoining cellars, in the city aforesaid, and have stowed away wines of Crete and other sweet wines in one of the said cellars, and red and white wines in the other cellar, for making sale thereof in the said tavern ; you, asserting that no person in the said city, whether native or alien, according to the custom of the city aforesaid, ought to sell red or white wines in the same tavern with sweet wines, seeing that from the mixture of the one wine with the other, which is often known to be made, the greatest danger has arisen heretofore, and is daily apprehended, have prevented the said Francisco and Panino from selling their wines aforesaid in the tavern so taken by them, although before you they were willing to give security that they would make no such mixture thereof ; to the no small loss and damage of the same Francisco and Panino ; as to the which they have entreated us that we would give them redress ;—We therefore, wishing to act graciously as towards the same Francisco and Panino, so far as becomingly we may, to the end that other alien merchants may not thereby be minded to decline to come to the said city with their wines and merchandises, do command you that, after taking the corporal oath of the same Francisco and Panino, and of each of them, that they will not mix their sweet

wines with other their wines, you will permit them to sell their red and white wines by themselves, and their sweet wines by themselves in the same tavern, the same being stowed away in different cellars, the custom aforesaid notwithstanding, without any impediment from you thereto. Witness myself, at Westminster, the 24th day of February in the 27th year of our reign in England, and in France the 14th."

*Concerning the Sale of Sweet Wines.* 39 *Edw. III.*, 28 May 1365. *Letter Book G.*, fo. clvii.

Writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs to the effect that taverners were to be allowed to sell sweet wines by wholesale, notwithstanding an ordinance by the King and his Council that all taverns where sweet wines were sold by retail in the city and suburbs were to be taken into the hands of the Mayor and Chamberlain and that there should only be three taverns appointed for such sale, viz., one in Chepe, another in Lombard Street and another in Walbroke, where the wines were to be sold at a price fixed by the Mayor and Chamberlain at the beginning of each year, and the profits devoted to the repair and cleansing of the walls, ditches, etc., of the city. *Also Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. III., Part II., p. 768.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CALENDARS OF PATENT ROLLS, TEMP. EDWARD III., CONCERNING PURCHASES OF WINE BY THIS MONARCH.

29th September, 1342. *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 16 *Edw. III.*, Part II., m. 10d.—Commission to John Lesturmy, Walter de Wetewang and William de Catesby to make inquisition by the oath of masters and mariners of ships now at Sandwich as well as of other good and lawful men necessary for the King in this behalf, touching a petition of Robert de Tonge, King's clerk, late receiver and keeper of the King's victuals for the north, praying for an allowance in his account at the exchequer of 72 tuns, 1 pipe, 3 sexters, 2 pitchers of wine put in leakage and ullages (in corisona et oliagio posita) out of 1,047 tuns of wine at the town of St. John and other places in Scotland sent by him at divers times in pursuance of writs from the King, and 220 quarters of oats freighted by the same

town of St. John, and 129 quarters,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of oats and 17 quarters and 3 bushels of peas, of corn freighted in other ships and brought to those places, which were lost by the violence of the sea or rotted by long detention in the ships, in the time when he was such keeper and receiver, and certify the King as to all particulars of the loss of the wine and corn.

17th April 1344. *Calend. Patent Rolls, 18 Edw. III., Part I., m. 28 and 26.*—By letters patent the King lately assigned to his serjeant, Reymund Seguyn, his Butler, in part payment of wines purveyed by the said Reymund for his use, 1,000 marks of the money arising from fines, issues forfeit and amercements adjudged before William de Shareshall and his fellows, justices of oyer and terminer in the county of Suffolk, and because the purveyance of the said wine cannot be made unless that money be levied he has appointed Thomas Coteller and Thomas de Stacheden, with the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, to cause the same to be levied forthwith and delivered by indenture to Reymund. The said Sheriff and all others in the counties are therefore to be attending, counselling and helping unto the said Thomas and Thomas in the levying of the money.

15th January 1345. *18 Edw. III., Part II., m. 1.*—Whereas the King is bound to divers merchants of the Duchy of Aquitaine for wines taken for his use in £750 6s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to wit, to William Casse and his brothers, in £142 17s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; to Hugh Martyn, in £57 21d.; to Arnold Ostan, in £120 13s. 4d.; to Bidallus Manent, in £120 13s.; to Bernard le Caline, in £47 19s. 2d.; to Bartholomew Trilhe, in £31 12s. 6d.; to Reymund Blaunk, in £9 14s. 2d.; to Peter Vigervus and Geraud Ribot, in £33 13s. 11d.; to William de la Brunye, in £53 2d.; to Reymund Saus, in £79 17s. 1d.; and to Peter de Puy, in £71 4s. 4d. as appears by divers bills under the seal of Reymund Seguyn, the King's Butler, delivered by them at the receipt of the exchequer; in consideration of their damage and loss sustained in long prosecution of payment of the said sums, he has granted to them £100 beyond the sum due as a gift and it is his will that they shall receive, by view and testimony of his Butler or his lieutenant in the port of London, 2s. due to the King on every tun of wine imported from the Duchy, until they shall be satisfied of £360 of the said £850 6s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and for their greater security he has granted that they and all other merchants of

the Duchy may safely come to the realm with their wines under his protection and no prise shall be taken of their wines by the King's butler and others.

The like letters for the said merchants of the following sums in the undermentioned ports.

	£	s.	d.
Boston - - - -	140	0	0
Bristol - - - -	80	0	0
Sandwich - - - -	35	0	0
Southampton - - - -	75	6	10½
Toppesham - - - -	40	0	0
Great Yarmouth - - - -	20	0	0
Kingston-upon-Hull - - - -	100	0	0

10th March, 1346 *Close Rolls 20 Edw. III., Part I., m. 22.*

—To Hervey Tivel, Sheriff of Devon, John Lestraunge and John Gernach, the king's serjeant at arms. Whereas at the suit of Sanchius Dyens, lord of a ship called "la Sainte Marie Magdaleyne" of Pleisaunce in Spain and burgess of that town, showing that certain malefactors of Dertemuth in that county had attacked that ship laden with seventy-two tuns and a pipe of white wine and with certain other things and goods of Sanchius and his fellows, merchants of Spain, of the price of £350, in thirteen ships of that town, of which four are called, to wit, "la Nicholas," John Gordoun lord and Richard Short master, "la Neveshippe," Thomas de Kyngesmey lord and master, "el Seint Jake," Henry White lord and William Combe master and "la Grace Dieu," William de Gapton of Dertmuth lord and master, when it was going to Flanders, in a place called la Barge de Lonn, and they took that ship with the wine and goods, throwing certain of the mariners into the sea, did their will with the wine and goods and sunk the ship, as may appear by public instruments and proofs, and Sanchius beseeching the King to provide a remedy, the King, out of his friendship for the King of Spain, appointed Hervey and John Gerrache to enquire into the matter and to restore the said wine and goods to Sanchius and give him satisfaction of the goods of the malefactors, and Hervey and John certified that John went with Sanchius to the tavern of Richard Gordon of Dertemuth and there found two tuns of wine under Sanchius's seal, which had been moved and concealed before the arrival of the Sheriff there, and the

King does not wish Sanchius to be defrauded, as he is a burgess of Pleisaunce, and in order that the alliance with the King of Spain may not be violated by such injuries ; the King therefore orders Hervey, John and John, upon pain of forfeiture to compel John Gordon, Richard Short, Thomas, Henry, William, William, Richard Gordoun and all others into whose hands the wine, goods and tackle of the ship shall be found to have come, to satisfy Sanchius for the same or for the price thereof if they do not exist, by imprisonment, the taking of their lands into the King's hand and in other ways, and if they refuse to make such restitution, then to arrest them and all their abettors, whether they be the mayor and bailiffs or others, and have them taken to the Tower of London, to be imprisoned there until further order, and to cause their lands, goods and chattels to be taken into the King's hand, so that the Sheriff answer for the issues of the lands and for the goods and chattels at the exchequer.

## CHAPTER X.

“A vigorous government, large fleets and the resources of this country were never more needed than at the accession of King Richard the Second; but rarely, if ever, was the condition of England more deplorable. The monarch was a child under eleven years of age; his councils were disturbed by personal animosities; his treasury was completely exhausted; the English Navy was almost annihilated; hostilities were about to recommence in Scotland; and his powerful enemy the King of France, having renewed the war, was preparing a large expedition to invade the realm.”\*

The numerous depredations of the French and Spaniards along the south coast, from Devonshire to Kent, prove that the English had no longer a navy fit to cope with an enemy at sea.

Parliament met on the 3rd of October, 1377, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, stated that the principal cause of its assembling was the late invasion of the enemy, and the necessity of providing for the safety of the realm.†

The Commons, by their first Speaker, Sir Peter de la Mare, submitted a long catalogue of grievances and said that, when the merchants of the kingdom

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\* Sir N. H. Nicolas. History of the Royal Navy, vol. II., p. 25. | † Rot. Parl., III. 3.



were lords and masters, and had the disposition and management of their own ships, the navy was great and plentiful, that more good ships belonged to one town than were then in the whole realm.

On the 30th of November, most of the cities and towns in the kingdom were commanded to provide a barge called a balinger for the defence of the realm,\* but Parliament looked to Bayonne and Bordeaux for a further addition to the national navy. The Bayonnese ships soon distinguished themselves by attacking a Spanish fleet; after a smart engagement they captured fourteen vessels laden with wine, which they brought into an English port, having given Sir Robert Knollys, governor of Brest, as the first-fruits of their spoil, a hundred tuns of the best wine,† whence it may be inferred that the affair took place off the coast of Brittany.

Similar success attended, at about the same time (1378), one John Philpott, a wealthy citizen of London, who had hired at his own cost a thousand armed men and a number of ships, and who captured fifteen Spanish ships laden with wine, off the coast of Yorkshire.‡ Later in that same year, in June, 1378, the Duke of Lancaster also captured, at St. Malo, a number of vessels belonging to La Rochelle, laden with wine.§

When Parliament met again, in October, 1378, it was stated that such heavy expenses had been incurred at Calais, Brest, Cherbourg, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and also in Guienne and Ireland, as well as for

\* Rot. Fr., 1 R. II., Part I., m. 9.

† Walsingham Chronicle, p. 211.  
Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., p. 269.

‡ Walsingham Chronicle, p. 213.  
(also Evesham, p. 6). Sir N. H.

Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., p. 271. J. Philpott was Mayor of London in 1377-78.

§ Froissart, vol. II., p. 31. Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., p. 274.

the defence of the sea coast, that the subsidy granted by the last Parliament was spent, and another aid was demanded to carry on the war.\*

The condition of the navy was then made the subject of a forcible remonstrance by the Commons, who stated that the owners of ships had suffered such heavy losses and expenses, on account of their vessels being so often seized for expeditions to France and elsewhere, without receiving any compensation from the King or the realm, that many of them were utterly ruined, and the navy almost destroyed throughout England.†

In the following year, the situation had not improved; Scarborough had been sacked and the enemy's vessels intercepted all the traffic of the northern ports. The Earl of Northumberland and the Mayor of London were appointed to consult with the merchants on the subject; they agreed that a duty should be levied upon every ship and crayer passing the Admiralty, of 6d a ton-tight, going and returning, and 6d. a last upon all vessels laden with goods belonging to merchants of Norway, Prussia, or Scone, except ships laden with wines and merchandise from Flanders, which should be freighted and discharged at London.‡

The Commons also repeated their complaint of the injury done to the navy by frequent impressment of ships; the same Parliament enacted that merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Arragon and of other countries towards the west, being in amity with the King, bringing to Southampton or elsewhere

\* Rot. Parl., III. 34.

† Rot. Parl., III. 46.

‡ Rot. Parl., III., p. 63. N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., pp. 273, 274, 276.

carracks, ships, galleys, or other vessels laden or unladen, would enjoy the same privilege as those granted to them at the Staple of Calais.\*

A more complete list of the different nationalities of merchants who came to England with their wines towards the close of the fourteenth century appears in the appointment of Thomas Fyle as royal Butler, dated November 19th, 1377; he was to levy and collect, to the King's use, 2s. a tun on wines imported by merchants of Almain, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Provence, Catalonia, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Cahors (Caturom), Flanders, Brabant and other foreign parts.†

The Italians, Genoese and Florentines were at the time actively engaged in the carrying and coasting trade, bringing over to England wines from Rochelle and other parts.‡

Portugal was at the time a neutral power whose goodwill it was necessary to cultivate, and greater respect appears to have been paid to Portuguese shipping than even to that of the allies of England. In 1379, for instance, a *ballinger* belonging to Sir Hugh Calveley's fleet having improperly captured a Portuguese *crayer* called the "St. Margaret of Lisbon,"

\* Statutes of the Realm, vol. II., p. 8.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Ric. II., Part II., m. 24.

‡ License, by mainprise of Gerard Lomelino and Matthew Gentiles, Genoese merchants, to Seguranus de Gotereris and Melianus de Mari, Genoese merchants, who recently brought certain wines from Rochelle (Rupell) to the City of London and have paid custom and subsidy therefore, but cannot sell the same to their advantage, to ship 100 tuns thereof to any part of the realm.

Calend. Patent Rolls, 8 Ric. II., Part I., m. 26. 20 September 1384.—License for Baltizan Obracy, merchant of Florence, to buy in London and elsewhere thirty tuns of Rochelle wine and twenty *botes* of sweet wine, and take the same to any part of England for gain, after paying custom and subsidies due therefor, notwithstanding any mandate of the King before to the contrary. Cal. of Patent Rolls, 8 Ric. II., Part I., m. 27. 14 September, 1384.

laden with seventy-two tuns of wine, while on her passage to Flanders, the King ordered the crew to be released and their goods restored in February, 1380; the men were, however, made to swear that they would not attempt to leave the kingdom without permission. A similar order was made at the same time in favour of another Portuguese ship which had been taken near the English coast by Sir Thomas Percy and brought to Southampton; the crew were also released and the cargo restored.\*

With the deplorable state of the navy, so often and apparently so uselessly complained of in the Commons, the insecurity of the sea had become greater and the price of wine had risen accordingly throughout the realm. Ever since the year 1377, when wine was very abundant in England,† imports had decreased and, in 1381, the price of the tun of wine had risen to £5. This was the price sanctioned by Parliament, which ordered that the best wines of Gascony, Osey and Shain, and Rhenish wines should be sold for 100s. and the best Rochelle wines at 6 marks the tun; and, by retail, the former at 6d., the latter at 4d. the gallon. An extra charge of one penny upon every gallon was allowed for carriage into the country. By the same act, permission was given to retail sweet wines (*vin douce ou clarre*) in England and its dependencies until the following feast of St. John (1282), after which date these wines could be sold wholesale but not by retail, under the penalty of forfeiture; this prohibition was, however,

\* Rot. Claus., 3 Ric. II., m. 12 and 13.

† Quo anno tanta vinorum copia in Angliam est advecta, quanta a multis annis retroactis in his partibus minime visa fuit. *Chroni-*

*con Angliæ, ab anno domini 1328, usque ad annum 1388. Auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albini. Edited by E. Maunde Thompson, 1974, p. 109.*

removed a few months later, when a law was passed authorizing the sale of any sort of sweet wine (*aliqua vina dulcia*) throughout the kingdom, at the same prices as Gascon and Rhenish.\*

As usual, in spite of the dictates of King and Commons, many vintners, in the country as well as in London, sold their wines at what they considered a fair price, and some of them were fined, whilst others were, curiously enough, pardoned.

The Sheriff and bailiffs of Huntingdon, for instance, were commissioned to enquire touching the sale, by men of Huntingdon, of wines from Gascony, Rochelle, Osey, Spain and the Rhine, contrary to the ordinance of Parliament held at Westminster in the fifth year of the King.† A few years later a pardon was granted, at the instance of Nicholas de Exton, Mayor of London, to vintners, taverners and others of the City and suburbs of all offences committed by them in the sale of wine at higher prices than in accordance with statute, contrary to proclamations and ordinances of Parliament at Westminster in the fifth year of the King, and of any forfeitures thereby incurred.‡

The increased cost of wine in England was inevitable, and it is even remarkable that supplies should have continued to arrive in spite of the enormous risks run by merchant shipping. In the numerous accounts of sea fights which are recorded

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\* Statutes of the Realm. 5 Ric. II., St. 1, c. 4; Rot. Parl., A.D. 1381; 5 Ric. II., vol. III., p. 121, col. 1 and 2. Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. VII., p. 378. *De precio vinorum proclamando*; Rot. Parl., A.D., 1382, 6 Ric. II., vol. III., p. 138, col. 1. Rot. Parl., A.D. 1383, 7 Ric. II., vol. III., p. 162, col. 1. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. I., p. 595.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 7 Ric. II., Part I., m. 29d. 2 September 1383. (*Statutes at Large*, vol. II., p. 46.)

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 10 Ric. II., Part II. m. 21, February 17th, 1387.

in the Walsingham Chronicle, there are many mentions of vessels laden with wine from Bordeaux, La Rochelle, or Portugal, which were often captured or burnt by the victorious party.

About May 1382, in one instance, some vessels belonging to Rye discovered several of the enemy's ships, and amongst them they recognised a vessel which formerly belonged to Lord Latimer, but which had long before been captured by the French. After a hard fight the English beat the enemy, recaptured Lord Latimer's ship, and took six other ships laden with wine and merchandise, together with 300 men.\*

In the following year, similar success attended the squadron which was guarding the seas and which captured, amongst others, eight barges laden with wine and other goods.†

It appears from all such accounts that merchantmen were usually convoyed by armed vessels, but there are instances of merchants having attempted to cross the seas for wine in a single ship and without any protection. One of these, Guillaume des Champs, a Bordeaux merchant, left England in the boat of a Gascon, Arnaud Guilhem, alone, and just before the fleet assembled to start for Guienne for the new wines; but before embarking on this perilous voyage, as he was entrusted with some State papers, he obtained the promise of the King that a reasonable ransom should be paid for his life should he fall into the hands of the King's enemies.‡ With the exception of State messengers, however, such dangerous undertakings were not encouraged and often prevented

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\* Walsingham Chronicle, p. 308.

† Idem., p. 331.

‡ Rot. Vasc., 1 Ric. II., m. 15.

altogether, as the loss of every ship was a national loss and was not to be risked without good cause.

On February 12th, 1384, Nicholas de Dagworthe and Robert de Chalmesle were sent to Guienne to proclaim the truce which had been agreed to between the French and English monarchs.\* But in that same year Richard II. warned the merchants of Bordeaux, through the Senechal of Gascony and the Constable of Bordeaux, not to leave for England after the vintage singly, but all together and in as numerous and strong a fleet as possible.† Shortly after, however, a safe conduct was granted to William de Tonge, taverner of London, to go to Bordeaux to fetch wines.‡ On the 28th August, 1386, directions were issued that all vessels going from England to Bordeaux for the vintage should assemble at Sandwich, and proceed together to Gascony, that they might be the better able to resist a large force which the French had fitted out to intercept them.§

In that same year, a considerable capture of wine by the English from the French is recorded. The fleet which had been assembled at Sluys in 1386 by the King of France for the intended invasion of England had not been able to sail owing to persistent southerly winds, and, on the advice of the Duke de Berry, the King's uncle, the expedition was deferred until the next summer; the provisions and stores were to be put in store-houses; and officers were appointed to lay up the fleet and place it in safety. These orders had scarcely been given and Charles had hardly left Sluys with his knights, when the English fell upon his vessels, put some to

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\* Rot. Fr., 7 Ric. II., m. 7.

† Rot. Vasc., 8 Ric. II., m. 7.

‡ Rot. Fr., 8 Ric. II., m. 7.

§ Fœdera, VII., 540.

flight, burnt or captured the greater part of the fleet, and carried off the stores, among which were two thousand tuns of wine, which supplied the wants of England for some little time.\*

In March 1387, a similar good fortune befell the Earl of Arundel. Information being received that a large fleet of Flemish, French and Spanish ships, belonging to the merchants of Hainault and Flanders, laden with wine, was on its passage from Rochelle to Sluys and the adjacent ports, the Earl of Arundel took measures to intercept it. On the 24th of March, an archer, stationed at the top of the admiral's ship, descried the Flemish fleet in the distance, consisting of one hundred sail of various sizes, laden with upwards of nineteen thousand tons of the rich wines of Gascony. Either to gain the wind, or to draw the enemy nearer to the English shore, when they approached Arundel pretended to retreat; but the Flemings, who did not seek an engagement, steadily pursued their course. As soon, however, as the English found the wind in their favour, they suddenly rushed upon the enemy and furiously attacked them. After a hard action the Flemings were completely defeated; eighty ships were captured, and some that escaped being pursued, they were taken two days after the battle, and brought into the fleet. The prizes were sent to Orwell and other ports; and when the citizens of Middlesburgh offered to purchase the wine, Arundel told them that it was fairer that those who had borne the expense of the expedition should enjoy it, namely, the Commons of England, than that others should obtain it at any price. "But," he generously added,

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\* *Chronique de St. Denys*, vol. I. p. 460 (Des Ursins, p. 58).

† Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., p. 313.



“as ye are friends, and come from a distance, we will give you twenty tuns, that ye may not return altogether empty-handed.” \*

According to Froissart's account of this memorable affair, the fleet returned to the Thames and they were joyfully received in London on account of the quantity of fine wines they brought with them, which were sold throughout England for 4d. a gallon.†

According to Hollinshed, the abundance of wine in England was so great, in 1387, that it was sold for 13s. 4d. the tun, and 20s. the best and choicest.‡

This abundance is further proved by a satirical poem, in alternate lines of English and Latin, in which is described to what a shameful extent hard drinking had grown;

“Vive la belle,” thei cry  
 Fragrantia vina bibentes,  
 Thie drynke tyl they be dry,  
 Lingua sensuque carentes.  
 Thie cry, “Fyl the bowles!”  
 “Bonus est liquor, hic maneamus”;  
 For alle cry stone sowllys,  
 Dum durant vasa, bibamus! §

Further, the poor Symon had to bear some of the blame:

Symon, that fals man,  
 Doctor potat ecclesiarum;  
 Moch sorow he began  
 Vino defendit amarum.||

\* Walsingham, pp. 355, 356; Otterbourne, p. 166; Evesham, p. 77, states that more than 100 vessels were captured.

† Froissart, Vol. II., 549-552.

‡ Hollinshed's Chronicles, vol. III., p. 455.

§ Political Poems, etc., edited by T. Wright, vol. I., p. 277. The date of this poem is ascribed by Mr. Wright to the year 1388.

|| Political Poems, etc., ed. by T. Wright, Vol. I., p. 277.

In the autumn, when a large fleet was leaving England for Gascony to fetch the new wines, the French decided to take their revenge and to intercept it on its passage either to or from Bordeaux. Information having been received in England of the enemy's intention, the bailiffs of the ports of London, Orwell, and Harwich were strictly enjoined, on the 1st of October, to oblige all the masters and mariners of vessels which were about to go to Gascony for wine, to proceed in their ships together within the Isle of Wight, and to place themselves under the orders of John Gedeney, Constable of Bordeaux, who would make the necessary arrangements for their voyage.\*

In the spring of the following year (1388), a fleet was fitted out, under the command of the Earl of Arundel, to assist the Duke of Brittany. When the Admiral reached the coast of Brittany, he learnt that the Duke had just made his peace with the King of France; being, however, determined to "do something," he proceeded towards Bordeaux, burning and pillaging several places on the coast of Poitou and Saintonge, and carrying a great deal of wine from Rochelle.

Arundel and his fleet met, off the coast of Poitou, twelve ships from Bayonne on their passage to England; these were, of course, subjects of the King, and they were allowed to proceed on their voyage, after giving the Earl two pipes of wine "*for the love they bore him.*"†

During the following year, both belligerents captured as much of the shipping and wines belonging to the enemy as possible, the most successful

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\* Fædera, Vol. VII., p. 563.

| † Froissart, II., 705.

expedition on the part of the English being one fitted out by a merchant of Dartmouth; this man hired some Portuguese ships at his own cost, and captured thirty-two vessels laden with about 1,500 tuns of Rochelle wine.\*

Hostilities with France were fortunately terminated by the treaty of Lenlingham, in that same year, and the truce having been prolonged from time to time, lasted during the rest of King Richard's reign.

Parliament met in November and enacted that foreign merchants should be well, courteously, and rightfully used, that they might have the more inducement to come to England; and that no customer or comptroller, not having ships of his own, should meddle with the freightage of ships.†

But the most important measure enacted at the time to induce foreign merchants to come to England was the permission which they were generally given to carry away one half of the money for which they sold their goods; by this law,‡ which was made still more explicit in 1400,§ it was expressly ordered that every alien bringing any merchandise into England should find sufficient sureties before the officers of the customs to expend the value of half of what he imports at the least, in the purchase of wools, leather, woolfels, lead, tin, butter, cheese, cloths, or other commodities of the land.||

The Rochelle merchants, and also those of Rouen and Flanders, hastened to bring their wines to

\* Knyghton, col. 2735; Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., p. 329.

† Statutes, 14 Ric. II., c. 6., 9., 10. Rot. Parl. III., 278, 281. Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II., p. 331.

‡ Statute, 14 Ric. II., c. 1.

§ Statute, 2 Hen. IV., c. 5.

|| G. L. Craik, *The History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times*, vol. I., p. 131.

England, a market which had been lost to them for so long a time. Those of Bordeaux, who had enjoyed, with the Bayonnese, a monopoly of the wine trade in England all the time that the war lasted, saw with the greatest jealousy that their old competitors, and particularly those from La Rochelle, were again rapidly gaining ground in England. In 1392, some Bordeaux merchants seized and burned a Rochelle barque with a cargo of fifty tuns of wine, in spite of the peace, and this outrage led to the capture, at Pons, of some other Bordeaux merchants, whose goods were taken by way of compensation.\*

Such piratical seizures at sea, during a truce, were unfortunately but too frequent. During the truce of 1369, a London merchant, having a cargo of Bordeaux wines which he was bringing to England, was seized and robbed of all his wines by some St. Malo pirates. He had paid at Bordeaux a special tax levied in that port by the agent of the Duke of Brittany, in return for which the Duke undertook to guarantee a safe passage off the coast of his Duchy. The unfortunate merchant petitioned the King in vain until 1395, when he was granted the permission to use reprisals on any of the subjects of the Duke of Brittany.†

But, although acts of piracy by individual adventurers could not be altogether prevented, the peace between France and England and their allies rendered the safety of the sea far greater, and the maritime commerce of this country became rapidly more active.

\* *Le livre des Bouillons*, No. 140, fo. cxxiv verso; Francisque Michel, *Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux*, vol. I., p. 335.

† *Rot. Franc.*, 19 Ric. II., m. 3. A similar case occurred during the reign of Edward II. See *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 11 Ed. II., m. 22 in dorso.

During the year 1395, in Chester, alone the shipping trade and the wine trade increased in a considerable measure. The freight from Bordeaux to Waterford was 14s., to Dublin 15s., to Beaumaris or Chester 18s. per tun or two pipes of wines. These were the rates charged by a Chester shipowner, whose vessel, the "Trinity of Ottermouth," was chartered by Gebon de Camberton, merchant, to go to Ré, Rochelle, Bourq, Libourne or Bordeaux.\*

At the same time, the "neff nommé La Lenard de Bortemuthe," was chartered in Bordeaux to carry seventy-eight casks of wine to Beaumaris or the Redbank of Chester, at 18s. per tun freight. The pilot was to be taken on board at Milford or Dalkey and to be paid by the master of the ship.†

A cheaper rate was, however, obtained for the ship "La Grace de Dieu de Lyme," which was chartered in Bordeaux to carry ninety-seven casks of wine to Beaumaris or the Redbank of Chester, at the choice of the merchants, for 12s. per tun ‡

Cheaper still, the ship "La Madeleine de Drogheda" was chartered at Bordeaux to carry fifty casks of wine from the Bec d'Ambès to the Redbank of Chester at 10s. per tun.§ A few years later, the rates of freight again rose a little. The ship "La Marie de Dartmouth" was chartered at Bordeaux by John Orguiner, a merchant of Chester, to carry fifty-four casks of wine to the Redbank of Chester, at 13s. per tun; whilst Julien de Brest had to pay 18s., 20s. and 20s. 10d. per tun freight for the wines

\* Chester Recognizance Roll, 18-19 Ric. II. m. 2.

† Chester Rec. Roll, 18-19 Ric. II. m. 2 in Dorso.

‡ *Ibid.* 18-19 Ric. II. m. 2 in Dorso. "Redbank de Westchestre,"

a droite discharge, a charge des marchantz, pour xij sols d'escerins d'Engleterre."

§ Chester Rec. Roll, 18-19 Ric. II. m. 2 in Dorso.

shipped from Bordeaux by the "Marguerite de King's-ware," to Chester, Beaumaris, and Dublin.\*

It is unfortunate that no record should exist as to the cause which led to the seizure, at Chester, of the "George of Chester," with a cargo of red wine of Gascony belonging to an English merchant.†

The question of the cost of the freight between Bordeaux and England was discussed in the Parliament which met in November, 1390. The Commons represented that in the last reign ‡ mariners were only entitled to 8s. and the freight of one tun, and the "master shipman" to 16s. and the freight of two tuns, at the most, for navigating ships from England to Bordeaux, and returning again; but that the mariners had entered into a confederacy not to serve in those ships without exorbitant wages, namely, the "master mariner" 24s. and the freight of three tuns, while some demanded 100s. and the freight of three tuns; and that, nevertheless, the said mariners refused to proceed with English, but only with aliens, if there were any, to the great injury of shipowners, as well as of the navy of England. They therefore prayed that mayors and bailiffs of towns might have power to punish such mariners at the suit of any one who might be aggrieved, as in the time of Edward III. The King replied that he would charge his Admirals to oblige mariners to take reasonably for their services, and to punish those who acted contrarily.§

Richard II. had every reason to conciliate the people of Aquitaine, especially the merchants of

\* Chester Rec. Roll, 10 Hen. IV. m. 2.

† Chester Rec. Roll, 18 - 19 Ric. II. m. 2 in dorso.

‡ See Black Book of the Admiralty.

§ Rot. Parl., III., 283; Sir N. H. Nicolas, History of the Royal Navy Vol. II., p. 332.

Bordeaux, and in 1396 he confirmed all the Charters and privileges which had been granted to them by his predecessors.\*

The reign of Richard II. brings into clear light the darker side of the changes which had been taking place in the previous reigns. It was during this reign that the failure of Edward III.'s commercial policy became evident and that the Commons, asserting their claim to an effective part in the government of the country, brought about a reversal of the existing economic policy which proved of great importance in the subsequent history of the country.

The native merchant was encouraged and favoured, in opposition to the foreign trader and often at the expense of consumers. The Lombard bankers who had replaced the Jews during the preceding reigns had not only proved useful to the Crown as moneylenders, but also to the community as teachers ; they had helped to form a class of English capitalists whose enterprise grew with their wealth, and the trade of the nation had benefited thereby.

The family of the de la Poles offers a very typical example of the rapid rise of this class of wealthy English merchants who were soon to play so considerable a part in Parliament as well as in the commercial life of the nation, and also of the importance they acquired in the wine trade.

The de la Poles are first heard of in 1316 as living at Kingston-upon-Hull; it was a year of dire famine, and Richard de la Pole gained the royal favour as well as the gratitude of his compatriots by his enterprise in sending for large quantities of corn abroad. In 1320,

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\* Le livre des Bouillons, No. 64, fo. lxii verso.

he was made under-Butler in the port of Hull, his duty being to aid the King's chief Butler in making suitable provisions of wine for the royal household. In 1322, he obtained, jointly with another, the more important office of collector of customs for the town, and in 1327 he was promoted to the honourable and lucrative post of chief Butler to the King.

At the close of 1328, he received from the King a present of 1,000 marks at Christmas, in consideration of his good services, and in the following May he was made gauger of all the wine sold throughout the kingdom, his brother William being appointed his deputy. In 1331, Richard de la Pole left Hull and went to live in London; he went to Ireland in 1334, there to deposit certain wines of the King's until they be wanted for use, and he retained his butlership until 1338. In the meantime, his brother, William de la Pole, was amassing an enormous fortune by speculation in wool and by the farm of the wool tax; he became a real merchant prince, was made first Mayor of Hull, and was on several occasions employed by the King on duties half commercial and half political.

In the summer of 1335, the brothers engaged to pay £20 a day for the expenses of the royal household, besides supplying as much wine as was needed, and received authority to pay themselves from the proceeds of the customs of London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Boston, Hull, Hartlepool and Newcastle. In that same year the King acknowledged a debt of £330 to William de la Pole for sixty hogsheads of wine and six hundred quarters of salt bought for his use. In August 1336, William fitted two of his ships, the



“Bloom” and the “Saint Mary,” and sent them to Gascony and Flanders partly on the King’s business and partly on his own. In 1339 he was made a knight banneret and chief baron of the Exchequer; he died at Hull in 1366.\*

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\* See Napier, *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surtees Society, 1836), pp 263-265, and *English Merchants*, vol. I., p. 59.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Fors et aspres et bien bevans* \*—strong and harsh and drinking well—such were the qualities most appreciated in the wines consumed in England during the Middle Ages.

Glass bottles being then unknown, and the proper treatment of wine in casks only very imperfectly comprehended, wines were mostly drunk new, and custom had engendered a taste for their natural harshness. The stronger the wine the better it would keep, although the longer it would remain on tap the worse it would become, so that either light or old wines were always considered the worst by mediæval consumers. Delicate wines were invariably condemned and could not be sold in England; thus, in 1374, although wine was very scarce and its re-exportation had been prohibited, a special licence was granted to Thomas White, of Great Yarmouth, to export twenty casks of Gascon wine of poor colour (*debi/is coloris*) to Scotland or Norway, to make the best of it, † as he could not find a buyer in England. A similar licence had been granted, in 1366, to Richard de Wandesford, to ship to Scotland thirty-four casks of wine, which could not be sold in London on account of its thinness

\* Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits, etc., T. II., p. 192; *Du Provost d'Aquille*, v. 159.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 48 Ed. III., Part I., no. 9. 14th June, 1374. Calend. of Documents relating to Scotland, vol IV., p. 47.

(as was attested by William de Streete, the King's Butler), and which might be disposed of there.\*

Old wines often acquired such a bitter taste and so much acidity, through being left on tap and otherwise badly kept, that they were never sought for and were sometimes sold at a loss or even given away, to make room for wines *frez et noviax*,† (fresh and new), which were always preferred to any other.

In 1226, Henry III. directed that his old wines should be distributed amongst the poor,‡ and the same monarch ordered the keeper of his Bristol cellars to sell all the wines of the preceding year, which were left in stock, and to buy some *new* wine with the proceeds.§

In 1229, the bailiffs of Lincoln were ordered to sell eighteen casks of the King's *old wines* at Boston fair,|| a similar order being given in 1234 to the Viscount of Northampton.¶

In 1240, the King's wines in Shropshire were delivered at Michaelmas to the sheriff of that county

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 40 Ed. III., Part I., m. 12, 22nd June, 1366; Calend. of Documents relating to Scotland, Vol. IV., p. 27.

† Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits, etc., T. II., p. 180; *De Cortois d'Arras*, v. 185.

‡ Rot. Litt. Claus., 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 97. col. 2.

§ Rot. Litt. Claus., 10 Hen. III., Vol. II., p. 112. col. 1. The price of the wines of the previous year dropped considerably as soon as those of a new vintage appeared on the market, this being the case in Paris as well as in London. See Vto. d'Avenel, *Histoire Economique* etc., Vol. III., p. 263.

|| De denariis *veterum* vinorum venditis (*sic*).—Mandatum est bailivis Linc' quod denarios regis, qui

sunt in custodia sua de xviii doliis veterum vinorum venditis in nundinis Sancti Botulfi, facias (*sic*) habere Johanni de Colemere clerico ad negocia nostraque ei injunximus facienda. Calend. Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III., m. 9. 7th June, 1229.

¶ Mandatum est vicecomiti Northampt, quod de denariis, quos penes se habet de duobus doliis *veteris* vini domini regis per manum ipsius vicecomiti venditis per preceptum regis, faciat habere Ade le Brum, vinetario Norht', sexaginta solidos pro quodam dolio vini de eo empto ad opus domini regis per Adam Esturmy, et quod residuum denariorum illorum salvo custodiat, donec dominus rex aliud inde preceperit. Calend. Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III., m. 24. 6th May, 1234.

to be sold,\* and in 1252 Hamo de Palmer accounted for the sale of the King's wines.†

Such sales appear to have been held annually, all the old stock being disposed of at the end of September or early in October to make room for the new wines which were expected to arrive shortly; anybody was free to buy the King's old wines, but the monarch sometimes ordered that other sales of wine should cease whilst his were offered and until such time as it should have all been disposed of. Thus, on August 16th, 1256, when the borough of Bridgnorth obtained its fourth and fifth Charters from the Crown, a provision of the latter stated that "the burgesses shall not be distrained to buy the King's wines unless by their own will and consent, provided, however, that while the King's wines are selling there, all other sales of wine shall entirely cease within the borough."‡

This practice appears to have been often resorted to by Henry III., but it was not inaugurated by this monarch, since, in 1168, we find that Henry II. obtained 60s. 4d. in one instance from the sale of his wines, £5 0s. 9d. from those sold at Hereford, and 40s. from similar sales in Wiltshire. §

The distinction between the new and old wines was particularly marked as regards those from Bordeaux and Rochelle, which were shipped at regular periods to England, where they were known as wines of *vintage* and wines of *rack*, the former being brought in the autumn and the latter in the following spring of each year.

\* Rot. Pip. 24 Hen. III., in dorso. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. I. p. 276.

† Rot. Pip. 36 Hen. III., Salop. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. I. p. 315.

‡ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. I. p., 308.

§ Pipe Roll, 14 Hen. II. rot. 7, m. 2; rot. 8, m. 2; rot. 11, m. 1d.

The Portuguese, Spanish and Italian wines were never imported in very considerable quantities in the early Middle Ages; they usually formed part of a general cargo brought to England from southern parts, whilst the Gascon, Poitevin and Rhenish wines were usually brought by entire fleets, travelling together for greater safety. This was the rule with Gascony wines, which formed the bulk of the wine consumed in this country in those days. The "wine fleets" left England in the autumn to return before Christmas, and crossed the seas again early in the following year to come back soon before or after Easter. Instances of wine imported in any large quantity during the summer months are extremely rare, and it is probable that it had been recognised that the wine imported as it was then, in its natural state and without any "fortifying" addition of spirit, could not safely be transported during the excessive heat of the summer.

In favourable years, when the vintage had taken place early, the first vessels reached England at the end of September, bringing the unfermented juice of the grape, called *mustum*, or must. This beverage, however, was never greatly appreciated and always sold at a lower price than the properly fermented, although still quite new, wines which were brought over during the winter months.

Henry II. paid 20s. 6d. for a tun of *mustum* in 1165,\* and 21s. in 1174.† Henry III. paid 60s. for two tuns of the same beverage in 1230,‡ paying, however, 36s., 43s. 4d., 45s., and 46s. 8d. per tun for four other purchases of Gascon *wine* at the same

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\* Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II. rot. 8, m. 1.

† Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II. rot. 3, m. 1.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Hen.

IV. m. 6.

time.\* On September 28th 1234, Henry III. ordered the keepers of his wines at Southampton to deliver to the bailiffs of the said port a cask of *mustum* of the right prise to be forwarded to Reading for his use.†

The wines which reached England during October, November, and December were styled “the new wines or wines of the vintage.”‡ They arrived in England early when the weather was fair; on the 25th of October 1231, for instance, Henry III. ordered that a ship, which had put in at Winchelsea with a cargo of *new wines* of Gascony, should be detained.§ But, as a rule, they did not reach this country before November, and sometimes later. The date when the new wines were to be expected in England was always very problematic and uncertain, and many orders were often couched in vague terms as to the time of delivery, the usual formula being “*de novis vinis Wasconie que primo ventura sunt apud London*”—from the new wines of Gascony which will be the first to arrive in London. ||

The wines which remained at Bordeaux for the winter were racked off their lees in the spring and

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. IV. m. 6.

† Calend. Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III. m. 5. *Rex custodibus vinorum Suhamp' salutem. Precipimus tibi (sic) quod unum dolium musti de prisca nostra, quod est in custodia vestra, habere faciat ballivis nostris Suhamp' cariandum ad nos usque Rading.*

‡ See Calend. Close Rolls, 17 Ed. III. Part II. m. 9. (24 November, 1343); 19 Ed. III. Part I. m. 27. (26 January, 1345.)

§ De nave deliberanda.—Mandatum est ballivis Winchel' quod navem que est in portu suo carcatam novis vinis Wasconie, nullatenus a

portu suo permittant exire nisi bonam habuerint securitatem quod alibi non divertet quam usque Lond. Calend. Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III. m. 1. (25th October, 1231.)

|| De vinis.—Mandatum est constabularis turris Lond' et G camerario Lond' quod de novis vinis Wasconie que primo ventura sunt apud Lond' retineant ad opus regis xxx dolia vini et ea salvo reponi faciant in celario regis apud Westmonasterium. Calend. Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III. m. 21. (7th September, 1229.) See also Calend. Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III. m. 34. (23 November, 1233), and m. 32. (29 December, 1233).

shipped to England principally during the months of April, May and June,\* and sometimes, though very rarely, in July or August. These were called wines of *reck*,\* *reek*, † *rec* ‡ or *reyck*, § and, in the official tariff regulating the freight to be charged for bringing wines from either Bordeaux or La Rochelle to England, a cheaper rate was directed to be demanded for these than for the wines of the vintage.

In the "Inquisition taken at Queenborow on April 2nd, 1375," it was thus ordained that mariners should receive eight shillings wages and the carriage of a tun on a voyage between London and either Bordeaux or La Rochelle, *in vintage time*, but that they should be entitled to only seven shillings and the carriage of a pipe *in time of rack*.|| This difference was obviously due to the fact that the *vintage time*, viz., during the autumn and winter, the voyage was longer and more perilous than when the *wines of rack* were brought over, in the spring and summer.

The difference between the wines of the *vintage* and those of *rack* is further clearly illustrated by several royal grants of later reigns stipulating that the receiver of the gift shall have so many tuns of wine

\* Mandatum est Gervasio camerario London' quod de melioribus vinis *reckis*, que *venerunt* de novo apud London,' retineat ad opus regis xx dolia vini, et ea statim liberari faciat vicecomitibus Lond' carianda quo rex eis precepit. Calend. Close Rolls, 16 Hen. III. m. 12 (14th April, 1232).

† See Calend. Close Rolls, 20 Ed. III. Part I. m. 26; 21 Ed. III, Part I. m. 30, etc.

‡ Rex custodi vinorum suorum Suhamt' salutem. Precipimus vobis quod de vinis nostris que sunt in custodia vestra, habere facias

Gilberto Ruffo de Rading unum dolium vini Was[c]on' *de rec*, pro uno dolio vini quod nobis comodavit apud Rading in vigilia Beati Petri ad Vincula, etc. Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Hen. III. m. 4. (1st August, 1228.)

§ See Calend. Close Rolls, 7 Ed. III. Part I. m. 13. (23th May, 1333.)

|| Item, entre Londres, Bordeaux, et la Rochelle en vendange prendra ung mariner huit souez de loyer et le portage dung tonnel et en temps de Reke sept souez de louer et le portage d'une pippe.

of vintage between Michaelmas and Christmas and so many tuns of wine of rack between Christmas and Easter.\*

These two denominations were quite recognized by the trade, as appears from a contract which stipulates that if the wines of the coming vintage which are on order be lost at sea, the seller must replace them in the following spring by the same quantity of *wines of rack*.†

The wines of *rack* which were shipped in the spring were, of course, of a better quality and clearer than those sent immediately after the vintage; they were therefore more appreciated, and the King always secured most of those which arrived first, whenever possible. Edward I. took much trouble, in 1276, to obtain some which had reached Chester at the end of February; this prince, having been informed

\*Grant for life to John de Wodeford, King's chaplain, of a tun of good wine, beyond the three tuns already granted to him by letters patent, to be received by the hands of the King's Butler, to wit, two tuns of good wine of *vintage* between Michaelmas and Christmas, and two tuns of good wine of *rack* between Christmas and Easter. Calend. Pat. Rolls, 14 Ed. III. Part III. m. 5. (24th December, 1340). See also Part I. m. 31, and also Calend. Close Rolls, 20 Ed. III. Part I. m. 20; 21 Ed. III. Part I. m. 24.

† Enrolment of a deed of Peter Viger, Rustand de Soler, burgess of Bordeaux, and Gitard de Burg, knight, lord of Bertoyl, who acknowledge themselves bound to Gregory de Rokesle, citizen of London, in 100 tuns and two pipes of Bordeaux wine, for £150 sterling paid to them in London on the day of the making of this deed; which wine they undertake to render to Gregory at London from the next vintage,

warehoused (*hebergez*) and gauged (*gaugez*) at their cost and risk, within cellars in the vintry at London, full and oiled, and acquitted (*engetes*) of prisz and of all other costs, saving the King's little custom, which Gregory shall pay and gauge for them. In case the wines be lost at sea, they shall be bound to render the said wines from the next following *rack* (*rec*) before Easter. When Gregory shall have seen and tasted the wines in cellars, and if they cannot furnish the same quantity of good and merchantable wine of the vintage aforesaid, they shall be bound to make good the deficiency from the following *rack* (*reec*) before Easter, or to pay 40s. and 40d. for each barrel that is lacking. They undertake to make good Gregory's damages incurred by non-delivery, taking his bare word for the amount thereof. Cal. Close Rolls, 9 Ed. I. m. 5d. (June 11th, 1281).



that some good, choice (*electa*) and *clear* wines of rack were for sale in that town, sent orders to Guncelinus B., Justice of Chester, to secure forty casks if they be really good, choice and clear, as he had been given to understand, and to keep them safely in the royal cellars there until otherwise ordered.\*

Growths or *crûs* were but seldom mentioned,† and wines were only known under the name of the country or province of their origin. By far the greater quantity of the wines consumed in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries came from Gascony and other French provinces, Poitou, Burgundy, and Languedoc, whilst the produce of German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Cyprus vineyards enjoyed great repute although their consumption was checked to a great extent by their scarcity and higher price.

Ever since Rouen had been lost to the Plantagenets, Gascony had become the chief source of supply of the English wine trade.

The merchants of Bordeaux enjoyed many special privileges both in England and at home, where they were exempt from most local taxes. With the exception of the men of Libourne, who were allowed to ship their wine direct to England,‡ all the growers and merchants of Gascony and of the adjoining districts of Agenais, Bazadais, Toulousain, etc., were

\* Calend. of Patent Rolls, 4 Ed. I. m. 14. (10th March, 1276).

† Thus Henry III. having borrowed a cask of Gascon wine from Michel d'Ambly, ordered the keepers of his wines at Southampton to deliver to the said Michel a cask of the King's *Gascon* wines in their charge, no mention being made of the *crû* of either cask, the one lent

being perhaps some St. Emilion replaced by one of Agen or La Réole wine. Rot. litt. Claus. 8 Hen. III. 1223. Vol. I., p. 579, col. 2.

‡ See Calendar of Letter Books in the Guildhall of the City of London. Letter Book A. fol. 48b. A.D. 1288; and Syllabus to Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. I. p. 381. May 18th, 1355.

obliged to send theirs via Bordeaux, where they were made to pay about fifteen shillings per cask as export tax, if they were subjects of the English Crown, and twice or sometimes thrice as much if they were subjects of the King of France; the burgesses of Bordeaux were exempt from all such duty.

In October 1308, for instance, Jean Ben, of Gontaud, and Gaillard Ayquem, of Bazas, having shipped by the *Swan*, of Teignmouth, the one fifty-two and the other thirty casks of wine, were made to pay treble fees; Arnaud de Laun, of Marmande, who had eight casks on the *Saint Michel*, of Lyme, also paid three times the *Great Coutume*, whilst Arnaud Calhau, rich burgess of Bordeaux, paid none at all for seventy-three casks of his wine shipped by the same vessel.\*

The growers of the interior were put to a great disadvantage to compete with those of Bordeaux, as they had also to pay different *péages* or tolls before reaching this port and they were even sometimes made to pay a certain fee for the right of sending their wines to Bordeaux.†

As far back as the reign of Henry III., the merchants of Chaureis had had to obtain a licence from this monarch to bring wines from the interior by the Gironde to Bordeaux, paying the proper fees, and the King had written to the mayor and "honest men"

\* Public Record Office. Exchequer. Aquitaine. Bourdeaux. 2-3, 4-5. Ed. II. 458. E.B. 1174. 1308. Accounts of the Constable of Bourdeaux.

† Rot. Vasc. 22 Ed. III. m. 11. The growers of the interior often complained of the injustice they suffered (See Rot. Vasc. 17 Ed. I. Part 2, m. 6; 31 Ed. III. m. 9; 21 Ric. II. m. 1, etc.); but the rapacity

of the Bordeaux merchants was such that they obtained a royal order to the effect that the wines from the districts of Agen and Bazas should not be allowed to be sent to Bordeaux for sale there before the 11th of November (St. Martin) so that they should have had time to sell all their own wines first. (Rot. Vasc. 17 Ed. III. m. 5.)

of Bordeaux, bidding them not to place any impediment in their way.\*

In 1374, some additional duties were ordered by Edward III. to be levied at Bordeaux on all wines coming from "the provinces of Agen and Bazas, and the River Dordogne, and from all other places which are our enemies and rebels during the present war."†

The same monarch also ordered that all wines be gauged, before being shipped, by an official appointed to that effect, who charged one penny sterling for each cask gauged.‡

But, in spite of all such exactions and the considerable risks incurred by the growers of the interior in sending their wines to Bordeaux through hostile provinces, a great many merchants of the south-west of France succeeded in bringing them to England, as is evidenced by the Letter Books in the Guildhall of the City of London, where many of these foreigners inscribed their deals, together with their names and the town or district they came from.

These registers are of great interest to the wine trade, and they are the only source where ample and reliable information is to be found of the different growths of the Médoc and surrounding districts, the wines of which were appreciated in England during the Middle Ages.

After those hailing from Bordeaux itself, the greater number of the Gascon vintners trading in

\* Calend. of Patent Rolls, 9 Hen. III. m. 9.

† Rot. Vasc. 47 Ed. III. m. 4.  
*de tout le vin que vendra en Bordeaux des pays d'Agenois et de Bazadoys, et de la ryvere Dordogne, et de tout autre lieu q̄ de ceste presente guerre sont noz ennemys ou rebelles."*

This ordinance was thrice renewed by Richard II. See Rot. Vasc. 1 Ric. 11 m. 14 and 11 Ric. II., m. 3.

‡ An exact abridgement of the Records in the Tower of London, etc., collected by Sir Robert Cotton. London, 1657, p. 63. (21 Ed. III.).

London came from Bayonne, Barsac, Bourg, Bergerac, Gaillac and Moissac, Libourne, La Réole, Saint Emilion, Saint Julien and St. Macaire; not so numerous are the names of merchant vintners from Albi, Agen, Armagnac, Auvillars, Bazas, Cahors, Castelmoron, Castel Sagrat, Castel Sarrazin, Clairac, Condom, Cordes, Gontaud, Lauzerte, Layrac, Marmande, le Mas d'Agenais, Mirabel, Montauban, Montclar, Nogarol, Penne, Port Ste. Marie, Rabastens, St. Pierre, Ste. Bazeille, Ste. Livrade, Toulouse, Villeneuve d'Agen, Villedieu and other towns or villages of the south-west of France.\*

There is no doubt that the quality of wines coming from so many parts differed greatly, and although they were all sold under the generic name of Gascon wine, the prices they fetched clearly indicate that the buyer paid great attention to their respective quality and origin. Thus, in 1175, Henry II.

\* *Bordeaux*, see Letter Book A. fos. 3, 4b, 5, 9b, 17, 18b, 19, 19b, 20, 20b, 22, 23b, 24b, 27, 28b, 29, 29b, 30, 30b, 31, 31b, 32b, 34, 34b, 37, 39b, 41, 43, 43b, 44, 45, 46b, 47b, 49b, 59b, 65b, etc. All the above refer to entries between A.D. 1276 and 1293.—

*Albi*, see Rot. Vasc. 22 Ed. III. m. 11, — *Agen*, see Letter Book A. fos. 5b, 1276, and Rot. Vasc. 22 Ed. III. m. 11.— *Armagnac*, see Letter Book A. fo. 31b. 1283.— *Barsac*, idem, fo. 57, 1290.— *Bayonne*, idem, fo. 31b, 1283.— *Bazas*, Syllabus. I., 326, 1342.— *Bergerac*, Letter Book A. fo. 20, 1281; fos. 22b, 23b, 26, 28, 1282; fo. 29b, 1283; fo. 46b, 1287; fo. 58, 1291, etc.— *Bourg*, idem, fo. 22, 1281; fo. 28, 1282.— *Cahors*, Letter Book B. fo. 79, 1302. Rot. Vasc. 22 Ed. III. m. 11.— *Castel Sarrazin*, Letter Book A. fo. 20b, 1281.— *Clairac* (Agenais) 1287 and 1361.— *Gaillac*, Letter Book A. fo. 42, 1285. Rot. Litt. claus. 9 John. Vol. I.

p. 88, col. 2; p. 89, col. 1. Idem, 2 Hen. III. Vol. 1. p. 271, col. 1; 10 Hen. III. Vol. II. p. 118, col. 1. *Lauzerte* (Tarn et Garonne), Rot. Vasc. 15, 16, 17 Ed. II. m. 4.— *La Réole*, Letter Book A. fo. 23b, 1282; fo. 46, 1286; fo. 57, 1290; fo. 62, 1292, etc.— *Moissac*, idem, fo. 9, 1277.— *Montauban*, idem, fo. 5, 1276; Rot. Vasc. 22 Ed. III. m. 11.— *Nogarol* (Gers), Letter Book B. fo. 55, 1302.— *Monclar* (near Montauban), Letter Book B. fo. 79.— *Saint Emilion*, Letter Book A. fo. 45, 1286.— *Saint Julien*, idem, fo. 23, 1282.— *Saint Macaire*, idem, fo. 24b, 1282.— *Sainte Livrade* (near Villeneuve sur Lot) Letter Book B. fo. 79.— *Saintonge*, Letter Book A. fo. 83b, 1290.— *Toulouse*, idem, fo. 20b, 1281; fo. 40, 1284; fo. 41b, 1285; fo. 57b and 83b, 1290; fo. 58, 1291, etc. Rot. Vasc. 22 Ed. III. m. 11.— *Villeneuve d'Agen*, Rot. Pat. 5 Ed. II. part I., m. 18 (20th August, 1311).

paid for his wines at the rate of 7s., 11s. 6d., and 15s. 9d. per cask, according to quality ;\* King John paid 13s. 2d. and 14s. 5d. per cask for the Gascon wine he bought in 1202.† Five years later, however, we notice a marked advance in prices, the same prince paying 27s. per cask for Gascon wine, and as much as 34s. for some that came from Gaillac.‡ Henry III. paid at the rate of 33s., 35s., 40s., and 50s. per tun of Gascon wine in 1224 ; § 35s., 36s., 38s., and 41s. per cask, in 1226 ; || 30s., 36s., 43s. 4d., and 46s. 8d. per tun also for Gascon wine in 1230 ; ¶ and 30s., 32s., and 33s. 4d. per tun in 1252.\*\*

In 1277, Edward I. paid 40s. and 46s. 8d. per tun for the Gascon wine bought for his use, 50s. per tun for four tuns also of Gascon wine, but bought for the Queen, and as much as 60s. per tun for two which were sent to Windsor for his children.††

The great popularity enjoyed by Gascon wines in England during the Middle Ages was due, on the one hand, to their greater abundance and consequent lower price, and, on the other hand, to their great strength and fine red colour. They seem to have often been mixed with lighter wines, to sell the latter at a better price, and in a very ancient poem entitled *la Desputoison du vin et de l'iaue—the Dispute*

\* Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II. ; rot. 6, m. 1 ; rot. 1, m. 1d ; rot. 14d, m. 2.

† Rot. litt. pat. 4 John, Vol. I. pars I. p. 28, col. 2.

‡ Rot. litt. claus. 9 John, Vol. I. p. 88, col. 2, p. 89, col. 1.

§ Rot. litt. claus. 8 Hen. III. Vol. I. p. 610, col. 2 ; p. 622, col. 2 ; p. 623, col. 1 ; p. 625, col. 1 ; p. 649, col. 1 ; p. 650, col. 2.

|| Rot. litt. claus. 10 Hen. III. Vol. II. p. 122, col. 2 ; p. 86, col. 2.

¶ Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.

\*\*Royal and other historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III. Vol. II. p. 95, No. 498.

†† Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. I. m. 13 and m. 14. Similar differences exist in the prices paid for Gascon wines by Edward's successors. See Calend. Patent Rolls 6 Ed. II. Part I., m. 8. and m. 20 ; Idem, 16 Ed. III. Part II. m. 2, and m. 10, etc.

*between wine and water*—the author alludes to the Gascon wines thus :—

Les autres vins fet honnorer,  
Quant de soi les veult coulourer ;  
Force donne, aide et confort,  
Et d'un vin foible fet un fort ;  
Il a de vin plaine sustance,  
Il nourrist sans faire grevance ;  
Aus testes est bons et au flane,  
Et du rouge y a et du blanc.\*

“The other wines are honoured  
When it (Gascon wine) consents to colour them ;  
Strength it gives, help and comfort,  
And it renders a weak wine strong ;  
It is a full-bodied wine,  
Which satisfies without doing harm ;  
It is good for the head and good for the stomach,  
And some is red and some white.”

The other French wines which were well known in England during the Middle Ages were those of Auxerre and La Rochelle ; their fame was indeed more ancient than that of the Bordeaux wines, but their consumption never attained that of the latter.

In the tale of “Perceval the Welshman,” Chrestien de Troyes, a poet of the twelfth century, makes his heroes drink, in England, the wines of Poitou and of La Rochelle, “*vins de Poitou et de Rochelle*,”† after the *bons vins d'Auxerre et de Soissons*.‡ Pierre de Blois also remarks that Rochelle wines were drunk

\* “Nouveau recueil de contes, etc.,” published by Achille Jubinal. Vol. I. p. 300. Francisque Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*. Vol. I., p. 162.

† Roman de Perceval le Gallois,

MS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément français, No 430, fo. 182, verso. col. 2, v. 10.

‡ Ibid. fo. 159 recto, col. 2, v. 5. King John bought fourteen casks of Auxerre wine in 1213.

to a large extent in England,\* and another ancient writer tells us that, under that name, the wines of Saintonge and of Poitou were included, as they were usually shipped from La Rochelle.†

We also read in the famous poem entitled “La Bataille des Vins” :—

Lors dit li vins de la Rocele :  
 Je repais trestoute Engletierre,  
 Bretons, Flamens, Normans, Englois,  
 Et les Escos et les Irois.‡  
 “Then said the wines of Rochelle :  
 I feast the whole of England,  
 Bretons, Flemings, Normans, English,  
 And the Scots and the Irish.”

The trade in wine from La Rochelle to England reached a considerable importance during the reign of Henry II., and the inhabitants of the province were so anxious to remain under the rule of the English Kings that, when their territory was declared forfeited by King John to the French Crown, they fought, without any succour from England, their natural lord, the King of France, and adhered steadfastly to their former allegiance during many years.

It was also from La Rochelle that were shipped those wines of St. John (*S. Johannis*) which have sometimes been supposed—wrongly, in our opinion—to be the produce of Johannisberg or of some Italian growth ; they came from the neighbourhood of St. Jean d'Angély, an old fortified town nearly forty miles to the south-east of La Rochelle, where some brandy is still made and also a little wine of very

\* Petri Blesensis Opera omnia.  
 Ed. Petro de Gussanvilla, Paris,  
 1667, p. 24, v. 5, col. 1.

† Veterum Scriptorum et Monu-

mentorum amplissima collectio, T.  
 I., col. 1246, anno 1231.

‡ *Henri d'Andeli, La Bataille  
 des vins*, v. 113.

poor quality. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, the wines of St. John enjoyed no mean reputation in England; they appear to have possessed great body and strength\* and to have been supplied to Henry III. and to Edward I.†

The wines of Anjou, which at the close of the twelfth century were in great repute in England, became more difficult to procure when this province was lost to the Plantagenets after the reign of King John; according to Paulmier,‡ they were usually shipped from Nantes, and, although there are but few mentions of merchants hailing from that port to be found in the Rolls or the Letter Books of the Guildhall, there are proofs that the wines of Anjou were still shipped to this country at a later period. In February 1232, for instance, Henry III. wrote to the bailiffs of Southampton ordering them to take thirty casks of the best Gascon wine which should first reach their port, and also ten casks of Anjou wine if they could find some that was good.§ Two years

\* Li vins S. Jehan d'Angeli,  
Si dist à Henri d'Andeli  
Qu'il li avoit crevé les ex  
Par sa force, tant estoit prex.  
"La Bataille des Vins."

† Mag. Rot., 29 Hen. III., rot. ult. m. 1a recto; text given in Maclox, History of the Exchequer, pp. 52-78. Close Rolls, 4 Ed. I., m. 11, 8 May, 1276; 100 marks were paid by the Bishop of Winchester on behalf of the King to Peter le Carpenter, merchant of St. Jean d'Angely (Angliacem) for wines taken from him at London. There are numerous mentions of wine shipped from La Rochelle to England in the Close Rolls and the Gascon Rolls; see Close Rolls, Vol. I., p. 18, col. 1, cf. p. 72, col. and 2; p. 126, col. 1, A.D. 1205. Vol. I., p. 117, col. 2, p. 121, col. 1; p. 128, col. 2; p. 138, col. 2; p. 157, col. 1; p. 163, col.

1, etc. Rot Vasc. 27 Hen. III., m. 24, etc. In the Close Rolls (3 Ed. III., m. 23) there is a mention of a purchase of ninety tuns of wine from two merchants hailing from Sancto Johanne Ewangla, in France, probably also St. Jean d'Angely.

‡ Vie privée des Français, T. III. p. 14. These wines are described as chiefly white and distinguished by their strength and sweetness.

§ Calend. Close Rolls, 16 Hen. III., m. 15, 6 February, 1232.—Rex baillivis suis Suthant, salutem. Precipimus vobis quod de melioribus vinis, que nuper venerunt in villam vestram, sine dilatione faciatis aretari ad opus nostrum triginta dolia vini Vasconiensis, cujuscunque fuerint vina illa, sive de terra nostra Anglie sive aliunde. Et si bona inveneritis vina Andegavensia



later, in 1234, we find a mention of a vintner coming to London from Nantes, which shows that this branch of the French wine trade was still active during the thirteenth century.\*

As to the wines of Montpellier, they do not seem to have become known in England before the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the names of wine merchants from that city appear for the first time on the Letter Books of the Guildhall.† There is every reason to believe that these wines were at first sent overland to Bordeaux, thence to be shipped to England, ‡ and the importance of this export trade must have grown rapidly, since Louis, Duc d'Anjou, Governor of Languedoc, found it necessary to regulate it, in 1369, prohibiting the manuring of the vines, which was alleged to be the cause of complaints received from foreign buyers that wine did not keep as well as formerly.§

The Montpellier and Languedoc wines which were shipped to England during the fourteenth century were probably dark in colour and rich, such as Froissart depicts the *Muscats* and *Muscadets* so much appreciated by the army of the Prince of Wales during his expedition along the river Aude.||

Other sorts of French wines found their way occasionally to England, from Beaune, in Burgundy,

*ibidem aretatis ad opus nostrum decem dolia; nec alicui parcatos, quia vina predicta eligatis ad opus nostrum, sicut inde indempnes esse volueritis.*

\* Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III., m. 30, 1st February, 1234. *Mandatum est camerario Lond' quod si homines (swalonia, de Nantes, qui venerunt Lond' cum vinis suis, bonam ei fecerint securitatem quod vina illa que habent venalia in Lond' et apud Suht', sunt ipsius Galonis pro-*

*pria, tunc nullam priam capiat de eisdem vinis contra tenorem carte regis quam idem Galo habet.*

† Letter Book B, fos. 46, 49b, 50, 51, 51b.

‡ See Letter Book B, fos. 25b, 31, etc., for Montpellier merchants in London at the close of the thirteenth century.

§ See Appendix.

|| Froissart, Chron., Liv. I. Part II. ch. xix., T., I. p. 320, col. 2., A.D. 1356.

Orléans, and even Laon,\* but only in very small quantities and at long intervals.

Not so the produce of the Moselle and Rhine vineyards, which were imported regularly and to a very large extent by the Lorrainers and Germans, as also by the Flemings, who did much of the carrying trade between the Dutch and Flemish ports and England.

The antiquity of the German wine trade is very remote; the remains of Roman wine cups and vessels found in the district of Aix-la-Chapelle prove beyond a doubt that vines were grown and wine made in that district as early as the first century of our era.†

We have an accurate description of the vine-clad hills of the Moselle written by Ausonius‡ in the fourth century, and numerous records mentioning

\* Vins y ot bons et précieux . . .  
Vins de Gascoingne coulerez,  
De Montpellier et de Rochele,  
Et de garnache et de Castele;  
Vins de Beaune et de Saint  
Pourçain.

De Saint Jangon et de Navarre,  
Du vinon que l'en dit Labarre,  
D'Espagne, d'Anjou, d'Orlenois,  
D'Auceurre et de Laonnois  
Et de Saint Jehan, de Bieau  
voisin.

Roman de Fauvel, from a MS. in the  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; cf.  
Les Manuscrits françois de la  
Bibliothèque du Roi, T. I., pp. 320,  
321; Francisque Michel, Hist. du  
Commerce et de la Navigation à  
Bordeaux, T. I., pp. 163, 164.

† Dass die in der Gegend des  
heutigen Regierungsbezirks Aachen  
ansässigen Römer Nierorts Wein  
verzehrt haben, lehrt jede bedeu-  
tendere Ausgrabung aus Römischer  
Zeit. In Aachen selbst, wo war-  
scheinlich in den Jahren 70–120  
n. Chr. eine römische Besatzung  
lag, land man in den Ruinen des  
Römerbads zwölf Stücke von Am-  
phoren; ähnliche Funde wurden in

Gressenich und Stolberg gemacht.  
*Kessel*, Bonner Jahrbuchern, No.  
lx., p. 27; *Lersch*, Die Ruinen des  
Römerbades zu Aachen, p. 20;  
*Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichts-*  
*vereins*, Band III., p. 143, cited by  
*Emil Pauls*. Zur Geschichte des  
Weinbaus, Weinhandels und Wein-  
verzehr in der Aachener Gegend  
in *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichts-*  
*vereins*, Band VII., p. 181.

‡ In speciem quum me patriæ,  
cultumque nitentis

Burdigalæ, blando pepulerunt  
omnia visu,

Culmina villarum, pendentibus  
edita ripis,

Et virides Baccho colles, et  
amœna fluenta

Subterlabentis tacito rumore  
Mosellæ.

Salve amnis laudate agris, laud-  
ate colonis,

Dignata imperio debent cui  
mœnia Belgæ;

Amnis odorifero juga vitea con-  
fite Baccho

Confite gramineas amnis viri-  
dissime ripas, etc.

*Ausonius*, *Mosella*, v. 18–26.

the existence of Rhenish and Moselle vineyards from the seventh century forward; we know, for instance, that vines were cultivated near Strassburg, in 613, by the monks of Haslach,\* and in 628 and 638, in the districts of Ladenburg and the lower Neckar, whilst, in 634, Dagobert confirmed the Archbishop of Treves in all the rights and possessions of his church, including its vineyards on the Rhine, the Moselle and the Loire.†

Contemporary records still exist showing that vines were grown and wine made, in 646, at Saarb-urg, and many other places on the Moselle and even in Luxemburg; in 644, the Monastery of Wissemburg owned vineyards at Lautenbarch, Grunnesbrunnen, and fifteen other places.‡

During the eighth century, viticulture spread rapidly, not only in Germany, where the Monks of St. Fulda planted a great many vineyards, in 744, and where the wines of Deisdemheimer were praised, in 770, but even in Switzerland and Austria.§

At the beginning of the ninth century, we find in the household regulations of Charlemagne many instructions and remarks concerning wine and vineyards in Germany. ¶ It is during this century that appear the earliest records of such renowned vineyards as those of Rudesheim, Geisenheim, Kreuznach, Eisenach, and a great many more, whilst Nierstein

\* Schopplin, No. 23, in Alsat. Illustr. t. I., p. 650.

† Karl Reichelt, Beiträge zur Geschichte des ältesten Weinbaus in Deutschland und dessen Nachbarländern bis zum Jahre 1000 n. Chr. 1886, p. 23. In his will, dated 636, Deacon Grino, of Treves, disposes of his vines (*Ibid.*, p. 24).

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 80.

§ Reichelt, Beiträge zur Geschichte des ältesten Weinbaus in Deutschland, pp. 24, 26, 29, 80.

¶ Emil Pauls, Zur Geschichte des Weinbaus in der Aachener Gegend, in Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, Band VII., p. 178.

wines and Tyrol vineyards are mentioned at the close of the tenth century.\*

That the abundance of the wine made on the banks of the Rhine and its tributaries had led the Germans to export it, is beyond doubt, and there are abundant proofs of the trade in wine carried on between Germany and England previous to the Norman Conquest; this trade was, in fact, most extensive, and its importance only became second to the French wine trade after the acquisitions of Henry II. in France.

William of Malmesbury wrote that —

“the noble city of London, rich in the wealth of its citizens, is filled with the goods of merchants from every land, and especially from Germany.”†

The German merchants had a common house in London, the Steelyard, which was a considerable place, further enlarged in 1260 by the purchase of an adjoining house and garden.‡

There were also many merchants from German towns in Boston, Lynn, and most of the important commercial centres, where they used to have a *hanse-house* of their own.§ They had some sort of local

\* Reichelt, Beiträge, etc., pp. 42, 43, 56, 73, 80. The number of places where Mr. Reichelt has ascertained the existence of cultivated vineyards previous to A.D. 1000, is 303 in Germany, and as follows in the neighbouring countries: twenty-two in Switzerland, nineteen in Austria, five in Luxemburg, three in the Netherlands, one in Belgium. The culture of the vine in the last named country was anciently very extensive. See Joseph Halkin. Étude historique sur la culture de la vigne en Belgique. Liège, 1895; also

Pertz, Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, t. VIII., p. 571; also Cartulaire de l'Eglise St. Lambert, t. II., p. 10; also Daris. Notices historiques sur les églises du diocèse de Liège, t. IV., p. 182.

† De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, lib. II., p. 133.

‡ Maitland, Survey of London, Vol. I., p. 29.

§ Lappenberg. Stahlhof, Vol. I., pp. 163, 166; Lubecker Urkundenbuch, Vol. I., No. 329; Sartorius, Deutsche Hanse, Vol. II., p. 228, No. 113

organisation or confederation, and, in 1271, one Symon, a citizen of Lynn, was their Alderman in that town; on one occasion, he gave a pledge on behalf of some Lübeck merchants to the amount of £200.

Henry II. was too keen a politician to try and develop the commerce of his own large continental possessions by discountenancing or interfering with the German trade. On the contrary, he wrote to the Emperor Frederick in the year 1157—

“Let there be between ourselves and our subjects an indivisible unity of friendship and peace, and safe trade of merchandise.”\*

Henry followed this declaration by very extensive privileges granted particularly to the merchants of Cologne. They were to be protected as his own men, both in their merchandise, possessions, and house in London, and no one was to impose new exactions on them.†

Later on, they obtained a further concession in regard to selling their wines on the same terms as French wines. Again, when King Richard I. returned from captivity, he passed through Cologne and was most lavish in his grants to the traders there; they were to pay two shillings yearly for their Guildhall in London, and to be free of all tolls and customs in the City, and also to be at liberty to buy and sell at fairs throughout the land. This charter was subsequently confirmed by King John and Henry III. ‡

The merchants of Cologne were, with the Lorrainers, whose yearly arrival in England is so vividly

\* Radevicius, *Canonicus Frisingensis*, lib. I., cap. xvii., reprinted by Hakluyt, *cf.* Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. I., p. 74.

† Lappenberg, *Stahlhof*, T. II., p. 5.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 6, 8, 12.

depicted in the *Liber Custumarum*,\* the principal importers of German wines in England at that time.†

Most of the wines they brought came from the Moselle and the Rhine, but there are also mentions of wine of Saxony,‡ which might be either a misnomer for Rhenish, unless it came from some of those vineyards established in North Germany during the Middle Ages, which supplied the neighbouring states with common wines.§ There is also every reason to believe that two tuns of *vini de Remes*, bought in 1275 of Roger de Greschirche, || were wine of the Rhine and not of *Reims*, as Champagne wines were not known in England at the time.

Another appellation of German wine which has given rise to some confusion is a certain wine *de Oblinquo*, which Madox¶ translates by *Rhenish* and Henderson\*\* by Moselle wine. There is little doubt that this wine came from the Moselle, since *Obrincus*, which might easily be corrupted to *Oblinquo*, is believed to have been one of the ancient names of the Moselle; it is true that Ausonius, who was well acquainted

\* *Liber Custumarum*, Vol. I., p. 6.

† See Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. II. Part II., p. 926 (Syllabus, p. 281). Edward III. asked the Archbishop of Cologne and the Comte of Hainault and Geldres to grant a safe conduct to John de Cologne bringing thirty casks of Rhenish wine to England.

‡ In 1213, King John received three prize tuns of wine of Saxony. Madox, *History of the Exchequer*. p. 527. *et pro iii tonellis de prisae de Saxonie*.

§ Meiners, *Historische Vergleichung des Mittelalters*, 2<sup>ter</sup> Blatt. S. 103.

|| *Calend. Close Rolls*, 3 Ed. I., m. 7. 24 July, 1275.

¶ Madox, *Hist. and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, London, 1711, p. 527. *Et in aquietaudo xxii dolia de vino S. Johannis et de Oblinquo, scilicet precium doli ii marcas, xxix l. et dimidiam marcā; de quibus doliis respondet infra: Et pro xx doliis musti Gallici xxx l.: Et pro DCCC et XCIX. doliis vini Gasconie, And. et Gallic, et Oblinqui, de S. Johanne, diversi modo emptis per prædictum tempus, de quibus respondet infra. Mag. Rot., 29 Hen. III., Rot., ult., m. 1a.*

\*\* Henderson, *History of Ancient and Modern Wines*, p. 281.

with this river, never refers to it by any other name than *Mosella*, but, as has been pointed out by one of his commentators, the older name of *Obrincus* or *Obringa* had fallen into disuse at the time when Ausonius wrote.\*

Although the trade in French and German wines in England was of greater antiquity and always remained by far the most considerable, the produce of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese vineyards became known in this country at a very early date. The wines of Cyprus and Sicily were probably imported at the time of the Crusades, but it is not at present possible to know anything definite on the subject, as no documentary evidence has come to light concerning the sweet wines of Southern Europe drunk in England before the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

At that time, the most renowned in this country were the wines of Candye, Creet, and Malveseie, Mountrosse, Osoye, Province, Ryvere, Trubidiane, the Greek wine, the Clarre, Grenache, Romaneye and Vernage.

Some of these came from Southern Ita'y, whence some sweet and somewhat heavy wines were shipped as early as the thirteenth century to many distant places.

In the Pouille and Calabre wine was made which, curiously enough, was called either *Greek* or Latin wine, whilst the red wines of Melfi, Potenza and Rapolla enjoyed so great a reputation that Charles I., King of Naples, ordered some of each for his own use in 1276.† *Greek* wine did not designate the origin of

\* D. Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opera, Amsterdam, 1671, p. 349, note 1.

† "Le vin, enfin, était une des marchandises que l'on chargeait le plus communément dans les ports

de l'Italie méridionale. Le Pouille, Basilicate, la Campanie et la Calabre produisaient du vin Grec et du vin Latin. Les vins rouges de Melfi, de Potenza et de Rapolla comptaient sans doute parmi les

the wine, but that it was made after the style of either Greek or Cyprus wine.\*

*Vernage*, or wine of Vernaccia was an Italian wine, according to Froissart,† and it seems to have enjoyed great repute, being praised by Jean de Jaudin‡ in 1323, and mentioned in an order in council of Philippe de Valois, in 1349; § according to another authority *Vernage* was a wine of Piemont chiefly shipped from Genoa.||

On June the 21st, 1275, the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer of Dublin were ordered to cause the attorney of Nuto, and Burgeus his brother, *merchants of Florence*, to receive 20 marks for wines delivered by them to the late justiciary of Ireland, for the King's affairs in those parts.¶ It is, however, impossible to ascertain whether the wines delivered by these Florentines had been brought by them from Italy or simply from Bordeaux, Rochelle, or some other Continental port, as much of the coasting trade was carried on by Genoese and Florentines at the time.

plus renommés, puisque nous voyons Charles I, en faire acheter dans ces trois localités pour sa consommation personnelle. (19 April, 1276. Reg. 1275, B. fo. 94 vo.; dans Minieri Riccio, Regno di Carlo I., 1273-1285; A. S. I., série III., Vol. XXIV., p. 32). Georges Yver, Le Commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale au XIII. et au XIV. siècle. p. 105.

\* Le vin Grec est défini par du Cange : Vinum quod in ea Italia parte quam incoluere Græci nascitur. Dans les Annales Colmar (Böhmer-Fontes, II., p. 25), on trouve l'expression : "Vinum græcum seu Cypri," d'où l'on peut conjecturer que le vin Grec devait être une sorte de vin liquoreux analogue aux vins actuels de Samos, de Malvoisie et de Chypre.

Le vin Grec de Calabre figure sur la table royale et la pieuse Sanchia l'expédie en cadeau au pape Jean XXII., qui remercie la reine des "vinis grecis et aliis elcctis vinis domino Papæ transmissis." (Reg. Vat. 113, No. 263), Yver, Le Commerce, etc., p. 105.

† Chron. Liv. II., ch. cxv., ann. 1381; T. II., p. 161, col. 1, also Malvoisie.

‡ Bulletin du comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts de la France, T. III., No. 10, p. 524.

§ Ordonnances des rois de France, etc., T. II., p. 319, No. 7.

|| Croce, Della Eccellenza e diversità de i vini, che nella Montagna di Torino si fanno, etc., Torino, 1606, p. 13.

¶ Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 10.



Very little is known of the early export trade of either Spain or Portugal to England, but it is, nevertheless, surprising that no greater curiosity should have been evinced and no closer investigations should have been made hitherto to ascertain the origin of one of the most important branches of the English wine trade.

In his treatise on the wines of Portugal, John Croft wrote that Portuguese wines were imported into England for the first time at the end of the seventeenth century, relying on the statement to be found in Howel's letters that "Portugal afforded no wine worth transporting in 1634." Croft even goes so far as to say that it was some English super-cargoes who resided at Vianna, near Oporto, who taught the Portuguese to cultivate the vineyards on the heights or mountains bordering on the river Douro.\* Should a proof be needed to expose the fallacy of such a statement, we find one in the very interesting article of Sr. L. de Figueiredo da Guerra published in 1897, in the *Independente* of Monsao, and reproduced in 1901 in the *Jornal Horticolo-Agricola* of Lisbon. This notice, which is given *in extenso* in the Appendix to this Chapter, traces back the origin of the export wine trade of Portugal to the sixteenth century; some account books of the period prove conclusively that wine was shipped from the Alto Minho during the middle of the sixteenth century, the wines of Monsao being particularly appreciated abroad. It appears that a regular trade in wines existed at the close of the same century between England and Vianna, at the mouth of the river Lima, a port where resided

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\* John Croft, A Treatise on the Wines of Portugal, since the establishment of the English Factory at Oporto, anno 1727 (York, 1788), p. 5.

an English consular agent many years before the creation of a consulate at Oporto.

But, in spite of the lack of Portuguese documentary evidence, there are ample proofs that the export trade in wines from Oporto to English ports is of far greater antiquity than the date ascribed by either Mr. Croft or Sr. de Figueiredo da Guerra.

In his description of Portugal, which he visited in the early part of the fifteenth century, Gilles le Bouvier, *alias* Berry, says positively that the country produces good wines, figs and raisins, which they sell in England, being in amity with that kingdom.\*

When Edward III. imposed a new tax of two shillings per tun on all foreign wines, those that were imported from Spain, Portugal, Navarre and Catalonia are mentioned in the royal edict, in 1341; † the Spanish and Portuguese wine trade in England must, therefore, have been in existence at that time, and there are abundant proofs to show it. In 1338, for instance, the King granted his special protection to Michael Martyn, Martin Domynges, John Alfons, and John Ocho, merchants of Portugal, who had hired in the port of Southampton a ship called *la Juliane*, to go to Portugal and Spain for *wines*, olive oil and other goods; ‡ the previous year, on September 10th, 1337, Nicholas de Bermen, master of the St. Salvator, of Spain, and John Imaignes,

\* *En cedit royaulme croist de bons vins et grand foison figues et raisins, qu' ilz meinent vendre en Angleterre pour ce que ilz sont aliez avecques eux.* (Berry, Description des pays et régions où il a esté de son vivant. Ms. de la Bibliothèque nationale. fr. 5873, folio 52 recto. Francisque M'chel, Hist. du Com.

et de la Nav. à Bordeaux, Vol. I., p. 335.)

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. III. Part I. m. 19. 15 April, 1341.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III. Part I. m. 40. 26 January, 1338. See also 17 Ed. III. Part I. m. 43. 15 February, 1343.

master of the *Sta. Maria*, of Getaria, in Spain, had brought some wines to Sandwich.\*

In 1353, a commercial treaty between England and the two ports of Lisbon and Oporto† brought about an increased activity of the Portuguese wine trade in England, and the names of numerous Portuguese, as well as of Spanish, merchants are inscribed in the Guildhall Letter Books, together with the sums due to them for wine sold. Further proofs are to be found in contemporary official documents which place the existence of the Peninsular wine trade in this country during the fourteenth century beyond doubt. In 1345, for instance, Sanchius Dyens, merchant of Pleisaunce, in Spain, brought seventy-two tuns and one pipe of white wine to England,‡ and, in 1353, there is an entry of one hundred and nine tuns of wine “de la Rebasele” being shipped from Lisbon.§

There are abundant proofs of the existence of the trade in wines carried on between England and the Peninsula during the fourteenth century, and there can be no doubt that both the Spanish and Portuguese wine trade in this country dates, at least, from that period. But we are inclined to believe that its antiquity is far greater, and that, for instance, the tax levied at Sandwich, in 1271, on the wines of John of Spain—*de vinis Johannis de Yspania*||—referred to Spanish wines and not to any other from

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 11 Ed. III. Part II. m. 27.

† There are also several orders in the Guildhall Letter Books prohibiting vintners to keep Spanish and Gascon wines in the same cellar. See Letter Book G. fo. xcivb. 28 March, 1362.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls, 20 Ed. III. Part I. m. 22. 10 March, 1346.

§ Public Record Office. Navy Accounts, 44-47 Ed. III. T. G. 23322. Francisque Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*, Vol. I. p. 335.

|| MSS. of Canterbury Cathedral, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS, Appendix, p. 458.

Bordeaux or Bayonne, simply brought to Sandwich by the said John.

There is also every reason to believe that the wine of *Osoye*, *Osey*, or *Aussay*, which was known in this country as early as the twelfth century, was the produce of either Spanish or Portuguese vineyards.

Ellis assumes that the word *Osey* came from *oseille* (*sorrel*) and that the *vin d'Osey* was a *sour* wine.\* Such an etymology is quite unacceptable, and we are equally led to reject the far more plausible derivation given in Valois' "Description of France" to prove that *Oseye* was an Alsatian wine: *Alesia*, vulgo *Auxois*, with the article *l'Auxois*, thence *l'Aussois* and *l'Osoy*.† Bacci, evidently following the same etymology, says that it was a sweet wine such as Alsace produced in great quantity and exported to England as well as to many other countries,‡ and other authors, equally bent on finding a suitable etymology, have declared *Osoye* or *Aussai* to be a corruption of *Auxerre* or, as it is written in the old French, *Aucoirre*. This last assertion is, however, easily disposed of, since the two names are to be found together and in opposition; in the old *fabliau* entitled *Le Sot Chevalier*, the poet says that he did not know what wine was served on a

\* Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets, Vol. I. p. 241.

† *Had. Valesii*. Not. Galliarum. fol. Paris, 1675, p. 12.—Ab *Alesia* pagus *Alesiensis* nomen accepit, *Auxois* vulgo, vel cum articulo *l'Auxois*, aut *l'Aussois*, et nonnullis in tabulis *l'Osoy*.

‡ Bacci. Nat. Vinor. Hist. p. 350. Quo vinorum genere crassis-

simo abundare testantur cunctas in Alsatia, et secus Rhenum urbes, ac tanta copia, quod majus est, ut quotannis partim vectura curruum et partim navigatione in vicinas regiones convehantur, in Helvetios, Sueciam, Bavariam, Lotharigian, et inferiorem Germaniam, et quandoque etiam in Angliam.

certain occasion, whether it came from *Auxerre* or *Aussai*.

Mes vin i a de fi le scai

Ne scai ou d'Aucoirre ou d'Aussai.\*

We are far more inclined to believe that it came from Portugal, as explicitly stated in the *Libel of English Policy*:

Her land (Portugal) has oil, wine, *osey*, wax, and grain.†

A proof that *Osoye* or *Oseye* was a Peninsular wine is the fact that ancient writers almost invariably refer to it in conjunction with the wines of Spain and Portugal.

Thus we read that when King Richard's army was suffering from want of provision in Ireland, three ships arrived from Dublin with wine and stores, and the soldiers having rushed into the sea to meet them, soon drank off all the wine that was on board, more than a thousand being drunk that night because the wine came from good parts, viz., *Osoye* and *Spain*.

Tout fu riffe sans gueres attaignier.

Divres y ot, je croy, plus dun millier

Celle journee;

Veu que dosoye‡ estait la vinée,

Et despaigne, qui est bonne contree.§

\* Fabliaux et Contes. Edit. de Méon. T. III p. 263. Archæologia. Vol. xx. p. 37.

† Portyngalers wyth us have trought one hande

Whose marchaundy cometh moche into Englande

They bene oure frendes wyth there commoditez,

And wee Englysshe passen into there countrees.

Here londe hath oyle, wyne, *osey*, wax and greyne;

Ffygues, reysyns, hony, and cordeweyne;

Dates and salt, hydes and suche merchaundy.

Thos. Wright. Political poems and songs. Vol. II, p. 163.

‡ *Osoye* in Lambeth MS. and *Osoire* in British Museum MS.

§ Archæologia. Vol. xx. pp. 36, 37.

When Edward III. prohibited the sale of all sweet wines in England, in 1365,\* the mayor and bailiffs of Dartmouth, on the strength of this prohibition, seized wines of Osye, Algrave, and Spain imported by some burgesses.†

The previous year, when the same monarch granted his subject the permission to go oversea to fetch wines and bring them to England, the licence mentioned the "wines of Gascony, Rochelle, and Rhenish, and of *Osoye and of Spain*."‡ The same distinction was made when the wholesale and retail prices wine was to be sold at in England were fixed by royal authority; those of Gascony, Osoye and Spain were in the same category, Rochelle wines were cheaper and Rhenish was in another category.§

Spanish wines were reputed for their great strength and vinosity and Chaucer mentions specially the white wines of Lepe, now Niebla, between Moguer and Seville in the *Pardoner's Tale*:

Now kepe you fro the white and fro the rede,  
Namely fro the white wine of Lepe,  
That is to sell in Fish-street and in Chepe:  
This wine of Spain crepeth subtelly,  
And other wines growing fast by,  
Of which riseth soch fumosite,  
That when a man hath dronk draughts thre,  
And weneth that he be at home in Chepe,  
He is in Spain, right at the toune of Lepe, etc.

\* Rot. litt. claus. 39 Ed. III. m. 6 d.

† Rot. litt. claus. 39 Ed. II. m. 4. There is also a mention of the *white wine of Osey* in *The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*, edited by Thos. Wright (vol. I. p. 14, v.

452) and in the *Squyr of lowe Degre* (v. 762), the King of Hungary promises his daughter some *pots d'osey* with a variety of other wines.

‡ Rot. parl. A.D. 1364-65. 38 Ed. III. vol. II. p. 287, col. 2.

§ See Chapter IX.

Blends of different wines and mixtures of spices, honey and herbs with wine were frequently resorted to to disguise the natural harshness and acidity of wines drunk quite new, as was the prevalent custom throughout the Middle Ages. Thus compounded, they were known as *piments*, probably because they were originally prepared by the *pigmentarii*, or apothecaries, and also as *clarry* or *hippocras*; the latter was made of either white or red wine, in which different aromatic ingredients were infused, and took its name from the particular sort of bag, termed Hippocrates' sleeve, through which it was strained.\*

These beverages had been well known on the Continent as far back as the eighth century, their use being forbidden to the regular clergy, except on special festival days, by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817; † there is no evidence, however, to show that they were used to any extent in England before the twelfth century.

Piments, clarrie and hippocras must not be confounded with the sweet wines (*vina dulcia*) which were imported direct from Italy, Spain, or Portugal, and which were so much appreciated throughout the Middle Ages. The latter, although they were sometimes drunk at the same time as the *piments*, were natural wines, perhaps sweetened, but not aromatised. One of the most reputed of these was the *Vernage*, which is described as follows by a mediæval connoisseur.

“Vernache is one of the best, for it is moderately strong, and pleases the nose before it reaches the lips; it flatters the nostrils, comforts the brain, is grateful

\* Henderson. History of Ancient and Modern Wines, p. 284.

† Pegge. *Forme of Cury*, p. 16.

to the palate; it tickles without hurting; to the heart it gives joy and happiness, and, to put it shortly, of all the wines this is the flower.”\*

Vernage, clarry and hyppocras are repeatedly referred to by Chaucer; thus, in the Merchant’s Tale, we read—

He drinketh ipocras, clarree, and vernage  
Of spyces hote, t’encresen his corage.

Again, a little further—

Thus laboureth he til that the day gan dawen;  
And than he taketh a sop of fyn clarree . . .

and in the Knight’s Tale:

For he had yive his gayler drinke so  
Of a clarree, maad of a certeyn wyn,  
With nercotikes and opie of Thebes fyn,  
That al that night, thogh that men wolde him  
shake,

The gayler sleep, he might nat awake.†

A far more exhaustive list of all sorts and conditions of beverages drunk during the thirteenth century is to be found in one of the old metrical romances, entitled “The Squire of Low Degree,” ascribed by Mr. Wharton to the reign of Edward II.

Ye shall have rumney, and malmesyne,  
Both ypocrasse and vernage wine,  
Mount Rose and wine of Greke,  
Both algrade and respice eke;  
Antioche and bastarde,

\* Le vin vernache est de milhor condition, car il est atemprement (moderately) fort, et flair tres douchement ains (before) qu’il viengne à la bouche, les narines salue et conforte la ceruele, bien prent al palais, et point sans bleschier, al cuer donne joie et leesche,

et, courtement a dire, de tous vins ce est le pervenke.—*Secretum Secretorum* de Geoffroi de Waterford, in the *Histoire Littéraire de France*, T. xxi. p. 220.

† Chaucer. The *Canterbury Tales*, v. 1470–74, v. 1807–8, v. 1842–3.



Pyment also, and garnarde ;  
 Wine of Greke and muscadell,  
 Both claré, pyment, and Rochell,  
 The reed your stomake to defye,  
 And pottes of oseý sett you bye.\*

There was a wine known in England as *claret* as far back as the thirteenth century, but this denomination did not apply then to the produce of the Bordeaux vineyards, and probably meant a sort of blend of red and white wines.†

Great uncertainty prevails regarding the nature of Jewish wine as mentioned in an acknowledgment of Ernold Peleter, merchant of Gascony, that he owed to Master Elias, son of Moses, and Aaron, son of Vives, Jews of London, seven tuns of good wine *made according to the Jewish rite*;‡ it is likewise very difficult to ascertain what sort of beverage was the *esyl*, *eysel*, or *esylle*, rendered by Mr. Way, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* as *acetum*, which is again rendered *nyselle* or a *bytter wine*.§

\* Ritson, Metrical Romances, Vol. III., p. 176.

† Calend. Close Rolls, 36. Hen. III., m. 31. The King commands the keeper of his wines at York to deliver of the better sort to Robert de Montpellier two casks of white wine to make gilliflower (*ad garhiofilatum*) and one cask of red wine to make claret thereof, for the King's use against the instant Christmas; and Robert is commanded to hasten to York to make the said

*garhiofilatum* and claret, as he is wont in past years. 18th November, 1251.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls. 8 Ed. I. m. 4d. July 17th, 1280.

§ De chescun tonel ou pipe de vin, vinegre, cicer, *esyl* et de tutz autre manere de licour qe vyent de denz la fraunchise de la dite vyle a vendre, seyt pris iid. a la custume le rey. Le Domesday de Gippewys, in the Black Book of the Admiralty, Vol. II., p. 184.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

LETTER OF LOUIS, DUKE OF ANJOU, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF LANGUEDOC, CONCERNING THE CULTURE OF THE VINE IN THE DISTRICT OF MONTPELLIER AND PROHIBITING EXCESSIVE MANURING WHICH HAD BROUGHT COMPLAINTS FROM FOREIGN BUYERS THAT THE WINE DID NOT KEEP SO WELL AS IN THE PAST (13TH OCTOBER, 1369).

Ludovicus, regis condam Francorum filius, domini regis germanus, ejusque locumtenens in partibus Occitanis, dux Andegavensis et comes Cenomanensis, senescallo Bellicardi, rectorique et bajulo Montispessulani, vel eorum locatenentibus, salutem.

Cum consules ville Montispessulani nuper, de consensu et voluntate populi ejusdem ville, in domo Consulatus dicti loci, ad sonum campane congregati, ut es moris populum dicte ville convocari, pro utilitate communi dicte ville, et ut vina crescencia, in vineis territorii dicti loci melius et longiori tempore valeant conservari, possintque per mare et per terram ad loca remota, causa mercandi et aliter, portari, ordinaverent et statuerint ne vinee dicti territorii, seu pertinentiarum ipsius, debeant ullo tempore fimari, seu fimunu in eis apponi, preterquam semel, dum noviter sunt plantate, vel probatgines cum ipsas in eis fieri contingit, et sine fraude; igitur vobis et vestrum cuilibet precipimus et mandamus, quatinus dictam ordinationem, de qua liquebit, teneri et observari faciatis de puncto in punctum, juxta ipsius seriem et tenorem, facientes publice preconizari per loca consueta dicte ville, quod nullus audeat aliquid in contrarium attemptare, sub certis penis fisco dandis, precipientes quod, si qui contrarium fecerint, ipsos taliter puniat, quod ceteris transeat in exemplum.

Datum in Montepessulano, die xv mensis octobris, Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>LX nono.

Per dominum ducem, ad relationem consilii. Massuel.

Arch. mun. de Montpellier, Arm. E., Cass. VII., Liasse 34.

In A. Germain, Histoire du Commerce de Montpellier, antérieurement à l'ouverture du port de Cette. Montpellier, 1861, T. II., p. 277. Pièces justificatives, CLXVII.

EXTRACT FROM THE JORNAL HORTICOLO AGRICOLA, No. 8. AUGUST, 1901, p. 114.

Vinhos no seculo XVI.—Entre varios documentos que possuimos e que podem auxiliar a reconstituição da historia da vinha e do commercio de vinho portuguez encontra-se um de certo valor e que bem merece ficar archivado.

Foi estampado no numero 574 (1897) do *Independente* que se publica em Monsão :

Foi pela barra do Lima que se fizeram as primeiras tentativas para a exportação de vinhos portuguezes ; dos livros da alfandega and Vianna e dos accordãos da camara d'aquella cidade consta que já nos meados do seculo XVI se embarcavam alguns vinhos verdes do alto Minho, merecendo particular preferencia os vinhos de Monsão, que eram os que tinham maior taxa, certamente por sua especial qualidade.

No reinado de D. Sebastião já o commercio dos vinhos era importante, fazendo-se o seu expediente por agentes ou feitores encarregados da compra dos vinhos, que tinham um typo muito conhecido :—"vinhos da feitoria" ; aquelles agentes residiam em Vianna, onde se estabeleceu um consul, cujos privilegios, com os de outras nações de Norte da Europa, se encontram registrados nos livros municipals.

O referido equivale a dizer que os interesses britannicos no Minho ja então eram valiosos.

So muitas dezenas de annos mais tarde e que no Porto se criou um novo consulado, que teve como dependente o da faz do Lima.

Possuimos uma folha de pergaminho manuscrita, en cadernada em livro das—Eleições das abbadeças do convento de S. Bento de Vianna,—que pertence ao livro da sahida dos vinhos pelo porto de Vianna, nos fins do seculo XVI., cuja escriptura ção e toda feita na lingua ingleza ; breve a pedido de um nosso illustre collega e douto vinicultor tiraremos copia de seu contexto para subsidio de uma interessante obra que tem entre mãos.

E esse fragmento um documento de valor historico, pois se verifica como se effectuavam as transacções.

Pelo porto de Vianna sahiam annualmente muitas embarcações para Flandres, portos de Inglaterra e para o mar

de Norte, que conduziam vinhos em pagamento dos pannos e mercadorias, principalmente flamengas e inglezas.

Os vinhos de embarque eram agiencados não so no valle do Lima, mas por ambas as margens do rio Minho.

Em outra occasião voltaremos a este curioso assumpto.

Esta breve noticia e firmada pelo Snr. L. de Figueiredo da Guerra que como se acaba de vêr, promettia continuar, e pena foi que não proseguisse no seu estudo, que de tanta valia era para os que se interessam por esse assumpto.

*Translation.*

Amongst some documents we have and which may help to reconstrue the history of the culture of the vine and of the wine trade of Portugal, there is one which possesses some interest and deserves to be published here.

It appeared in No. 574 (1897) of the *Indepente*, which is published in Monsão.

“It was from the mouth of the Lima that were made the first attempts to export Portugal wines; two books of the Vianna Customs House and two Acts at the Town Hall of this town prove that as early as the middle of the sixteenth century some wines from the Alto Minho were shipped, the wines of Monsão receiving special favour and being those which paid the highest tax, certainly on account of their special quality.

“In the reign of D. Sebastian, the trade in wine was already important, the shipment being in the hands of agents or factors commissioned to buy the wines, which were of a well-known standard and known as ‘*Wines of factory*’; these agents resided in Vianna, where a consul was established, and their privileges, with those of other nations of the north of Europe, are registered in the municipal records.

“The above is equivalent to saying that the British interests in the Minho were even then of value.

“Only many years later was a consulate created at Porto, which was as a dependence of that at the mouth of the Lima.

We have a sheet of manuscript parchment, bound in a book of an Abbess of the Convent of S. Bento of Vianna which belongs to the book of sales of wines from the port of Vianna, towards the close of the sixteenth century, the whole

text of which is in the English language ; shortly, at the request of one of our illustrious colleagues, a learned viticulteur, we shall make a copy of this text to be used in an interesting work which he has in hand.

This piece is a document of historical value, to verify how shipments used to be effected. From the port of Vianna many ships sailed every year for Flanders, the ports of England, and for the North Sea, where wines were taken in payment for the cloths and other goods, chiefly Flemish and English.

“The wines shipped were not obtained only from the valley of Lima, but also from both banks of the Minho. On some other occasion we shall refer again to this interesting subject.”

This short notice is signed by Sr. L. de Figueiredo da Guerra, who, as has just been seen, promises to continue, and it would be a pity if he did not pursue his study, which is of such value for those interested in this subject.

## CHAPTER XII.

THE wine trade was carried on in England throughout the early Middle Ages with the help of monopolies enjoyed by certain corporations whose work, duties and privileges were well defined. The importers, mostly foreigners, brought their wine to English ports, where it was sold, after having satisfied sundry royal officers, through the medium of auctioneers appointed to that office; it could not be removed from ship or quay without the office of duly appointed wine-drawers, or carriers, and it could not be retailed by others than vintners and taverners approved of or *licensed* by municipal authorities.

On reaching the shores of Britain, the vintner, whether a foreigner or a native, had to submit to sundry royal and municipal officers before he could hope to sell his wines in this country.

The first of these was the King's Butler, who, in London, was at the same time the City Coroner and Chamberlain, at least during the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., when the coronership appertained to his office by right.

Thus in December 1302, the King when writing about William Trente, his Chamberlain (*camerario noster*) adds: "to whose bailiwick the office of

coroner in the City appertains" (*ad cuius ballivam officium coronatoris impertinet*).\*

The authority of the King's Butler was accordingly very great and his decrees probably very arbitrary; the citizens often complained of the inconvenience they suffered by reason of the coroner being thus a royal officer and not subject to the civic authorities (*n'est pas justisable par Mair, Aldermans, ne par autres Ministres d'icelle*) and prayed that they might be allowed to elect whom they pleased and to remove him at will as other cities and towns were wont to do.† It was all to no purpose until the impecunious condition of Edward IV. induced him, for the sum of £7000, to grant the citizens a charter permitting them (*inter alia*) to appoint a coroner of their own, independent of the King's Butler.‡

The King's Butler, sometimes styled Taker of the King's Wines (*captor vinorum*), had a great many attorneys and yeomen of the butlery to help him carry out the duties of his office throughout the realm; some of these were specially appointed to take care of the wines bought for the royal cellars in different ports until such time when they should be required.

Thus in 1335, Robert de Nevill, yeoman of the

\* Letter Book B., Introduction, p. 7. Letter Book C. fo. 71 b. (*Liber Custumarum*, vol. I., p. 113), *cf.* Letter Book D. fo. 77. Letter Book E. fos. 44, 136 b. A still more explicit statement is found later on in a writ nominating John Horn to execute the office of Matthew de Columbariis, styled "our Chamberlain and taker of our wines throughout England (*captor vinorum nostrorum per Angliam*) to whom the office of Coroner in our City of London by reason of the Chamberlainship aforesaid (*ratione camerarie predictae*) appertains . . . *Et nota quod Botellarius domini Regis et Camerarius domini regis et coronator idem sunt.*" *Liber Custumarum*, vol. I., p. 296.

† Rot. Parl. II., 367, III., 19.

‡ Charter dated 20th June, 18 Ed. IV.

King's butlery, was granted for life the office of curator (*officium curetarie*) of wines bought for the King's use within the realm,\* and in 1344 he was allowed to appoint attorneys to discharge his office.†

After the King's Butler had levied two casks per ship or their equivalent value in money for the Sovereign, and bought for his royal master the quantity of wine that might be wanted, the cargo was landed and the wine stored in the vaults which were provided to that effect on the quays and in the lanes adjoining the port. This landing was effected by a corporation of wine-drawers who were sworn and able men, whose calling was regulated by municipal edicts and whose scale of charges formed an officially approved tariff.

The most comprehensive example of the work done and of the prices charged by the wine-drawers is to be found in the Letter Book C. fo. 69 (30 Edw. I.) when, under the date 20th November 1301, we read the following :—

The underwritten wine-drawers (of whom forty-six are named) took corporal oath, touching the Holy Bible, that they would well, faithfully, and peacefully serve the men of the City and all others of the people and not take more for a tun full of wine or two pipes of wine than below is written, viz., for drawing out of vessels on to the wharf and as far as the cellar on the wharf, 2d. ; and from the vessels to a cellar in any lane towards the Thames, 2½d. ; and from the vessels to a cellar in the high street of Tamysestrate in the parish of St. Martin,‡ and elsewhere in the

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 9 Ed. III., Part I., m. 36. 16th February, 1335.

† *Idem.*, 18 Ed. III., Part II., m. 20. 7th September, 1344.

‡ St. Martin Vintry or Bermancherche. Letter Book B. 266.



neighbourhood (*alibi conjunctim*). 3d. ; and from the vessels to a cellar in lanes running into the aforesaid street of Tamysestrate, 4d. ; and from the vessels to a cellar in the Ropery (*corderia*),\* 6d. ; and from the vessels to a cellar through all streets and lanes without the City walls as far as the bars of the suburb, 10d. ; and for the carriage of one tun or two pipes in a strange car, 4d. ; and it is forbidden the aforesaid (*names*) masters, and their aforesaid associates, to meddle with or handle any tun unless there be present twelve associates instructed and skilled in the business.

No wine was allowed to be sold on board, and forestalling of wines in the Pool of the Thames or elsewhere was strictly prohibited.†

After landing their cargo, the vintners had to satisfy the royal gauger, and they seem to have entertained little goodwill towards this official, if one may judge from the often recurring ordinances threatening forfeiture and other penalties against both the seller and buyer of wine not gauged ; ‡ commissions were likewise nominated from time to

\* Situate in Thames Street, in the parish of All Hallows the Great.

† *Qe nul voise a la Pole, naillours, pur encounter vins venauntz a la Citee pur les bargayner, tanques ils soient venuz as Kayes apres lour primer descharge ou myt a terre.* Letter Book H. fo. 98.

*Qe nul voise en la Pole, naillours, pur encounter vins pur achatre.* Letter Book G. fo. 72.

*Qe nuls vins soient venduz en cwe avaunt qils soyent mys a la terre en celer.* Letter Book G. fo. 223.

‡ To the Sheriffs of London.—Order not to permit any ships to be customed or depart from that port before the fee of the gauger

for that wine has been paid to Thomas de Colleye, to whom the King has committed the office of gauger of wine, to hold for life, as the King is informed that merchants and others, when they have paid the custom, eloin their wine and do not permit it to be gauged, defrauding Thomas of his fee. Calend. Close Rolls, 19 Ed. III., Part I., m. 15 ; also 17 Ed. III., Part II., m. 3 d, etc., Letter Book F. fo. 78. G. fo. 1, 1b, 113, 188, 204 b, 261, etc. 6th May, 1317, Patent Rolls, 10 Ed. II., Part II., m. 15 ; 7th December, 1343, Syllabus Vol. I., p. 335. 12th February, 1383, Syllabus Vol. II., p. 503. 25th February, 1344, and 15th

time to inquire how the officer in charge of the gauging of wines in the different ports of the kingdom acquitted himself of his office.\*

The buyer and the seller each paid one halfpenny on every tun gauged; any deficit in the contents of the cask thus gauged was to be made good by the seller and any surplus was to be paid by the buyer.†

After being gauged, wine was allowed to be sold, but, there again, the intervention of a broker was necessary to make the sales lawful and beyond dispute. These brokers were chosen amongst the most reputable men of the city or town, by the assembled vintners, and they were sworn before the Mayor and Aldermen.‡ For their office, the brokers received sixpence per cask sold, and an attempt to reduce their charge to threepence per cask,§ lasted only a few months.|| In the latter part of the fourteenth century the intervention of brokers became obligatory in London, a proclamation being made in 1369 against selling wine before it had been put into a cellar and selling it in secret places (*en mucettes*) in the absence of brokers of the mystery of vintners thereto elected and sworn.¶

After due compliance with the various royal and municipal ordinances which were promulgated from time to time, the foreign vintner who had brought wines to England was free to sell them, wholesale, to whom he pleased. The native vintners

October, 1345, Letter Book F. fos. 78 and 112. Letter Book G. fos. 1, 1 b, 113, 188, 204 b, 204, etc.

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., Part I., m. 16 d. 20th March, 1342. See Appendix, p.

† 12th June, 1356, 30 Ed. III., Letter Book G. fo. 44.

‡ September 1293, Letter Book

C. fo. 18. 14th February, 1302. Letter Book C. fo. 66 b.

§ 12th March, 1285. Letter Book A. fo. 76.

|| 13th August, 1285. Letter Book A. fo. 127 b.

¶ 9th March, 1369. 43 Ed. III. Letter Book G. fo. 223.

tried more than once to force them to deal with nobody but themselves; they were however unable to establish such a rule, which was against the interests of the lords and clergy as well as of the wealthy citizens who could afford to buy their own wine wholesale and direct from the importer. Edward III. issued a writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London in 1364, to make proclamation forbidding any vintner to prevent foreign vintners from selling their wines wholesale to lords and others for their own use, or to merchant vintners.\*

Having sold their cargo, the foreign vintners usually sailed back as soon as possible and often before having received the money that was due to them. Before leaving London they inscribed the names of their debtors and the amounts due by each one of these at the Guildhall; they appointed some influential compatriot, often a naturalised Englishman residing permanently in England, to prosecute the recovery of their debts. These entries are very frequent in the Letter Books of the City of London kept at the Guildhall, and they show, *inter alia*, that all citizens, as well as the London taverners and vintners, could and did buy their wine direct from the importers. In May 1298, for instance, John de Abindone, *draper*, acknowledged himself bound to Henry de Graye and Emeric de Engoleme (Angoulême), wine merchants, in the sum of £6 8s. to be paid at Michaelmas; William Trente (a native of Bergerac who became eventually the King's Butler), wine merchant, being appointed attorney of the said Henry and Emeric.†

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\* Letter Book G. fo. 139 b. 38  
Ed. 111. 6th December, 1364.

† Letter Book B. fo. 31. b.

Most of these acknowledgments are naturally those of vintners,\* who were by far the largest buyers,† and of taverners, who were very numerous but never bought any large quantity of wine at one time.

In 1276, for instance, Symon de Farnham, taverner, owed £3 to a Bordeaux merchant for some wine of rack, in March; in November, he owed £21 17s. 4d. to two Bordeaux vintners and £9 to a Montauban merchant for some new wine.‡ In 1281, Robert de St. Albans, taverner, owed £6 to some Bordeaux merchants to whom Richard de St. Botolph also owed £8.§ In 1282, the said Richard owed £4 to some Gascon merchants, and Robert le Scot owed £9 10s. to a Bordeaux vintner;|| in 1283, Abraham the taverner bought three tuns of wine for £3,¶ and as much in the following year,\*\* when Benedict de Colcestre, taverner, owed £15 to two Toulouse merchants for wine.††

As a rule, taverners do not appear to have possessed sufficient capital to buy more than a few casks direct from the importers in the spring and late in the autumn of each year; they had to purchase most of what they required from native vintners‡‡ many of whom were wealthy men. It was not unusual for vintners to stock the cellars of taverners who were unable to buy their wine outright and

\* Peter Maupin, vintner, alone owed two Gascony merchants £43 4s. for a purchase of wines in 1306. Letter Book B. fo. 72.

† The importance of the stocks of wine of some London vintners must have been very great; one Roger Torold, vintner, being able to present 100 casks of wine to the Mayor in reparation for having used "opprobrious words against the said Mayor." Letter Book G. fo. 42 b.

‡ Letter Book A. fos. 3, 4 b and 5.

§ Letter Book A. fo. 21.

|| Letter Book A. fo. 23 b.

¶ Letter Book A. fo. 29 b.

\*\* Letter Book A. fo. 39 b.

†† Letter Book A. fo. 40

‡‡ Symon de Farnham, for instance, owed £24 to a vintner of Hereford in 1280 (Letter Book A. fo. 17).

who were practically in the same position as the landlord of the present day *tied* public-house. On August 16th, 1281, for instance, Cristian the taverner acknowledged having received six casks of wine value £13, from William Varache, for sale, together with four silver cups which he would account for when he had sold the wine; and for so doing he pledged himself and chattels, etc.\*

It is permissible to infer that taverners were often bound in some way to the vintners from the opening sentence of Edward III.'s ordinance of November 8th, 1327, against the mixing of weak and bad wine with any other, which, the King had been given to understand, was practised by the vintners of the City of London and *their* taverners selling wine by retail.†

Both the vintners and taverners, particularly the latter, were hampered by many legislative restrictions before they could dispose of the wines they had thus bought. In London, the municipal authorities were more meddlesome than in any other town and interfered to a very considerable extent with the trade of the taverners, apparently on account of a jealous care of the citizens' health.

Jurors were appointed to search all the tavern cellars in the city and to examine the wines sold thereat,‡ and Edward III. even ordered that the wine that was in cellars and in taverns should be

\* Letter Book A. fo. 20b. This wine had just been bought by Varache from a Toulouse merchant. See also in Letter Book F. fo. 220b. John de Croydon, taverner, *servant* of John atte Belle, vintner. April, 1345.

+ Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. III., Part III.

‡ 30th November, 1302. 31 Ed. I. Letter Book C. fo. 70. *Jun' pro scrutinio faciende de vinis Vasconum*, etc.

examined by the Mayor, who was to do what is customary with putrid and bad wines.\*

Each customer had a right to see his wine drawn† and could go to the cellar and see the cask whence it was drawn;‡ the taverner was not even allowed to have a cloth before the door of his cellar,§ so that everyone could see what was going on. The mixing or blending of new and old wine was not only forbidden,|| but the two were not even to be kept together in the same place, all the old wine that might remain having to be removed to some other place before a vintner could lodge new wine in his cellar¶ and none of this was allowed to be sold before all the old wine had been disposed of.\*\*

The same prohibition applied to different sorts of wine sold at a tavern; the white wines of Gascony, Rochelle or Spain were not to be put in the same cellar where Rhenish wine was kept†† and, when sweet wines were allowed to be sold, ‡‡ no other was to be kept in the same tavern.§§

The object of these enactments was to prevent dealers in wine fraudulently substituting one wine for another, and very severe penalties were incurred

\* 14th November, 1365. Syllabus, Vol. I., p. 439.

† *Que chescun puisse veer ou soun vin serra trete et de quele vessol.* Letter Book F. fo. 181.

‡ *Breve de visu habendo ubi vina extrahuntur.* Letter Book F. fo. 62.

§ *Que nul taverner eyt drap rendant devaunt soun huys de soun celer.* Letter Book F. fo. 214.

|| *Breve ne vinetarii misceant nova vina cum veteribus.* Letter Book G. fo. 1. *Idem.* fos. 29 and 30.

¶ *Que vins novels ne soient mys en celers ove vins vielx.* Letter Book G. fo. 260.

\*\* *Après la venu de novel vin nul soit vendu avant que le viel soit ouste.* Letter Book G. fo. 244.

†† *Que nul taverner mette vin Renois et vin Blanc en un celer ensemble.* Letter Book G. fo. 87.

*Que vin Blanc de Gascoigne, de la Rochele, ne de Spayne, ne dautre lieu, ne soit mys en celers ove vins Renois.* Letter Book G. fo. 260.

‡‡ *Breve ne vina Dulcia vendantur infra civitatem.* Letter Book G. fo. 172.

§§ *Que ceux qui ount Vin Douce neyent autre vin en mesme la Taverne.* Letter Book G. fo. 2.

by taverners selling a wine for what it was not; \* similar ordinances had in view the selling of the right quantity paid for by the consumer, and taverners were ordered to sell all their wines in standard measures sealed by the sheriffs and aldermen, and never by the *cruskyn*, or *cruse*, a small earthenware cup from which the wine was drunk.†

In 1352, the Mayor of the City of London and the Aldermen agreed and decreed that a taverner who sells wine, red or white, or Rhenish wine by false measure, his measure shall be burnt and the seller go to prison and be amerced forty pence for the use of the Commonalty. Also that a taverner who sells wine of Vernacia (*vyn Vernache*), wine of Crete or of the River (*de la Rivere*) or other kind of sweet wine by false measure, his measure shall be burnt and the seller go to prison and be amerced half a mark for the use of the Commonalty. Also that no taverner shall hang a cloth before the door of the cellar where the wines are stored, so that the purchasers may see whence the wine is drawn, that is to say, that one of each company may see that the vessel into which the wine is drawn be clean and from what cask his wine be drawn, on pain of imprisonment and payment to the Commonalty for the first occasion half a mark, for the second one mark, for the third twenty shillings and each succeeding time the penalty to be increased by half a mark. Also that measures be standing (*soient esteantz*) and sealed with the seal of the Alderman of the Ward, and that he who shall sell by other

\* Qe nul vende un vin pur autre.  
Letter Book G. fo. 72.  
Qe Blank vin ne soit vendu pur  
vin Renoy. Letter Book G. fo. 207.

† Qe Taverners vendent par  
mesure ensele, et nemy par cruskyn.  
Letter Book G. fo. 87.  
Qe Taverners vendent par mesure  
ensele. Letter Book D. fo. 157.

measures shall go to prison, and afterwards be amerced half a mark for the use of the Commonalty.\*

Ten years later these restrictions were amplified by ordinances against selling Rhenish (*Rynysshe*) wine, *vermaille*, or other wine otherwise than by measure sealed with the seal of the Guildhall or of the Aldermen; against putting wine of Spain and of Gascony in the same cellar and against preventing a purchaser from seeing whence his wine was drawn.†

Sour or corrupt wine was to be thrown away at once and it was illegal to try and sell it by mixing good wine with it or doctoring it in any way; ‡ a vintner who had been found selling some unsound wine was made to forswear his calling and forced to drink as much of his own wine as he could possibly drink, the remainder being poured over his head.§

Wine taverns were furnished with a pole projecting from the gable of the house, and supporting a sign or a bunch of leaves, or bush, at the end; in London, and particularly so in Cheapside where taverns were numerous, these poles had become a public nuisance by their length and size, each tavern trying to attract customers by some conspicuous and striking sign. In 1375, however, the principle

\* Letter Book F. fo. 214. 26th May, 1352 (26 Ed. IV.).

† Letter Book G. fo. 94b. 28th March, 1362 (36 Ed. III.).

See in *Riley, Liber Albus*, Vol. I., p. 706. De vinetariis et Wyndrawers, et pretio vinorum; de Gaugeatione de vinis corruptis, et eorum scrutinio; et supervisu, et forstallagio; de perticis tabernariorum et omnibus ejusdem artis circumstantis.

‡ Breve contra Tabernarios pro putridis vinis. Letter Book D. fo. 113

Qe nul Taverner medle vin corrupu ove bon vin. Letter Book F. fo. 70.

Qe vin corrupt soit dampne. G. fo. 196.

§ Letter Book G. fo. 141b. 11th November, 1365. However harsh this treatment may seem, the severity of the punishment was still greater in the case of one Simon le Taverner, servant of William atte Wylde, taverner, who was hanged in 1347, for having "feloniously thieved two cups of silver in the new tavern at Holebourne." Letter Book F. fo. 221.



that good wine needs no bush was established by an ordinance restricting the length of tavern poles.\*

The vexatious and arbitrary municipal measures which the London vintners had to submit to prevailed also in most provincial towns, where taverners and wine merchants were made to pay special taxes and *maltotes*; at Romney, for instance, a municipal tax of sixpence per tun and fourpence per pipe was levied on all retail sales of wine, fourpence per cask and twopence per pipe being charged on wholesale transactions.†

Similar special taxes were levied at Beverley by the Corporation, the rate being, in 1359, twopence per cask and one penny per pipe.‡ In many ports and towns such taxes were levied by some ecclesiastical body, Church or Abbey, the Canterbury clergy, for instance, claiming, in 1271, taxes on all wines landed at Sandwich.§

No tax or prohibition, however, was so keenly resented and so universally detested by vintners and taverners in England, throughout the Middle Ages, as the royal prerogative of fixing the price at which wine was to be sold in the realm.

The legal price might fluctuate with the greater or less abundance of wine in England, but it was impossible for the authorities to force vintners to

\* Letter Book H. fo. 22. See Appendix, p. 316.

† *Maletota vintriæ ibidem, super compotum reddendum solutionum; videlicet de uno dolio in teppyng vendito vid, et in grosso iv., et de 1 pipa in teppyng vendita iv., et in grosso ii.* Maltotes or assessments levied in the Vintry upon the sellers of wine for local purposes. 3 Ric. II., Romney (in *teppyng vendite*, i.e., sold on tap or by retail). MSS. of the Corpora-

tion of New Romney. Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 39. See also Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 535.

‡ Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, p. 156.

§ MSS. of the Canterbury Cathedral, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, p. 458.

sell their wines at a uniform price, irrespective of quality, and there is very little doubt that, on the whole, the assize of wine was never very strictly kept, although many attempts were made to enforce it. In all the official documents, Pipe Rolls, Exchequer Rolls, and Close Rolls, from the reign of Henry II. to that of Richard II., are to be found a considerable number of entries relating to fines which vintners, in London as well as in every part of the realm, were made to pay for selling wine contrary to the assize.

During the first half of the twelfth century, wine was cheap in England, the tun costing from 10s. to 20s.

The vintage of 1151 was late and very poor in France, and that of 1152, although better, was not abundant, the new wine selling, in fact, at a higher price than the previous year's, and the French were even forced to drink beer and mead instead of wine, a thing which had never been heard of before.\*

During the latter part of the twelfth century, the price of wine in England did not fluctuate very much, and remained on an average at slightly over 20s. per tun. King John was, therefore, allowing very little margin for profit when he ordained that the wines of Poitou should not be sold at more than 20s., those of Anjou more than 24s., those of France more than 25s., and the very best of all not more than 26s. 8d. per tun. This assize did not remain

\* The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Michael in peril of the sea. Edited by Richard Howlett, 1889. p. 167, A.D. 1152. Anno superiore vit vindemia rara et valde sera; unde et vinum nimis carum et duri

saporis fuit. Hoc autem anno fuit vindemia temporanea; sed vinum carius quam fuerat anno præterito; iccirco fiebant vulgo etiam in Francia tabernæ cervisiæ et medonis quod nostra memoria in retro-actis temporibus non fuit auditum.

in force very long and seems to have been little heeded by the vintners, some of whom sold wine to the Abbot of Ramsey, in 1201, at the rate of 48s. 8d. per tun, carriage paid.

In 1202, the price of wine was much lower, viz., about 14s. per tun, but, in 1207, it had risen again to over 30s. per tun on an average; this price increased slightly during the following years until the year 1234, when it rose to 60s. per tun, the highest price on record up to that time.

In 1242, wine was sold at 17s. 10d. per tun at Bordeaux, and about 30s. in London, and it rose to about 40s. per tun in England during the following years. In 1264, however, owing to the abortive vintage of the preceding year, wine became so scarce in these islands that its price rose to £6 13s. 4d. per tun.\* In 1275, the cost of the tun of wine had come down again to 37s. 6d., rising to 38s. in 1276, to 40s. 46s., 50s., and 60s. in 1277, and being still over 50s. in 1278.

With the exception of the year 1281, when wine was much cheaper, its cost went on increasing during the last years of the thirteenth century. In 1282, the tun cost 53s. 4d.; in 1289, 43s. 5d.; in 1292, 41s. 2d.; in 1299, 45s. 5d.; and in 1300, 62s. 3d. During the fourteenth century wine was considered cheap when it could be bought at 30s. the tun, or even 40s. and 50s. Taxes and the insecurity of the sea everything combined to enhance the retail price of all foreign commodities in England. The cost of

\* Quamobrem venalium quibus Anglia præ cæteris regionibus abundare consueverat, copia sic defecit ut vina quæ per xl solidas antea vendebantur, per x marcas liben-

tissime venderentur. *Annales Monastica*, edited by H. Richards Luard, 1869, vol. IV., p. 158. (*Annales monasterii de Oseneia et Chronicon Thomas Wykes.*)

wine rose rapidly to 60s. and 80s. the tun, reaching 161s. in 1351, and 240s. in 1375, in spite of every assize and ordinance to the contrary. In 1377, a vintage of exceptional abundance rendered wine cheaper and more plentiful in England,\* but in 1380, the price of the tun rose again to 160s. and remained high until 1394 when another remarkably good vintage caused wine to be once more cheap in England, so much so that the gallon of Gascon, Rochelle or Rhenish wine could be sold at 4d.,† the retail price first of all imposed by King John in 1299.‡

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

*Letter of Henry III. to the Mayor of Bordeaux respecting the alleged diminution of the size of the casks sent by Gascon vintners to England and threatening confiscation of all such.*—Noveritis quod de communi concilio nostro mensurari fecimus dolia vinaria, quae mercatores villae vestrae Burdigalensis adduxerunt cum vinis in Angliam, et inventa fuerunt minus continentia quam debitam et antiquam mensuram mutationis, quod quidem alias vobis significavimus. Et ideo vobis mandamus, firmiter præcipientes quod de cetero in Angliam non mittatis, vel mitti permittatis dolia cum vinis, quae debitam et antiquam mensuram mutationis non contineant: scituri proculdubio quod si de cetero in Angliam venerint dolia cum vinis minoris mensurae, vina ipsa penitus amittent ii qui ea duxerint, et incident insuper in misericordiam nostram.

Undated, but most probably of 28th July, 1219. Royal and other historical letters of the reign of Henry III., Vol. I., No. 29, pp. 36. 37.

\* Thomæ Walsingham, quondam Monachi S. Albani, historia anglicana. Edited by H. T. Riley, London, 1863, vol. I., p. 323.

† Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, etc. Edited by H. T. Riley, 1866, pp. 167, 168.—Per totum annum præsentem fuit tanta

vini copia de Wasconia vel Aquitania, Rochelia cum Rheno, ut lagena quatuor denariis venderetur; et erat vinum optimum atque sanum.

‡ All the above prices together with authorities, are given in the Appendix to the present chapter, pp. 318 to 333.

312 HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER BOOKS IN THE GUILDHALL OF THE  
CITY OF LONDON CONCERNING VINTNERS AND TAVERNERS.

JANUARY. 1353. *Regulations concerning the sale of wine in the City.*—Proclamation to the effect that no taverner sell a gallon of wine of Gascony for more than 8d., that those who sell sweet wine, like Crete, Vernage, or Ryvere, keep no other wines in the same tavern; that no taverner sell wine by measure unless the measure be sealed with the seal of the Alderman (of the Ward) or of the standard of the Guildhall, and this to be done with the measure standing upright, that no taverner refuse to let any of the company see the vessel whence the wine is drawn, and that he remove the curtains that may obstruct the view.

Letter Book G. fo. 2 b. 26 Edw. III.

MARCH 28TH, 1342.—Commission to Thomas de Mussynden, Robert de Shilvyngton, and John de Thyngden, to make inquisition in the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the parts adjacent, whether the office of gauging of wines has been properly used there since the time when the King assumed the governance of the realm, as the King is informed that the office is fraudulently and unfaithfully discharged in divers parts of the realm, to the great damage of him and his people, to wit, that by gifts to the King's gauger and his deputies in divers ports, tuns of wine not containing the quantity required by the assize are gauged and sealed with the seal of the gauger as if containing the assize.

The like to the following, as under :—

Southampton, Bristol, Lynn, York and the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, and Ireland. Calend. Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., Part I., m. 16d.

DECEMBER 13TH, 1357.—That no taverner sell wine of Vernaccia, Creet and other sweet wine or Rhenish (Reney's), nor sell by any measure except standard measure, sealed like other kind of wine, under penalty; and that any taverner who has such kind of sweet wine to sell shall not put other wine of Gascony or Rhenish in the same cellar to sell in the same tavern, on pain of forfeiture of the wine as ordained and proclaimed recently (einz ces heures) by writ of our lord the King. That no one sell sweet wines nor warrant wines of Vernaccia for "Creet" or "Ryver" for "Malvesie" but each wine shall be sold for what

it really is and without any admixture, under pain of forfeiture.—Letter Book G. fo. 71.

NOVEMBER 14TH, 1360.—Proclamation to the effect . . . that all taverners selling sweet wine, *Vermayle*, *Reneyys*, or other wine, carry their measures to be sealed by the Chamberlain by the same day under pain of imprisonment, and that no taverner sell *Reneyys* or other wine in earthen pot, *Grusekyn* (or little cruse or drinking cup) or any other measure except those aforesaid (gallon, potel and quart), sealed with the seal of the Chamber and the Alderman of the Ward; and that no taverner put Ryneys and other white wine in the same tavern (*sic*) under pain of forfeiture.—Letter Book G. fo. 86 b, 34 Edward III.

17TH APRIL, 1362. *Regulation concerning the sale of sweet wines.*—Ordinances to the effect that no one carry any kind of Rhenish wine out of the City by land or water unless it be for the great folk of the land and others to their own uses; also that taverners and others open their tavern for the sale of wine and not keep them closed, as they had done by reason of the Mayor and Aldermen having put a certain price on their wines, and further, that no one sell a gallon of best vernage for more than 32d., a gallon of inferior vernage for more than 2s., a gallon of malvesyn and riverse for more than 20d., a gallon of creak, candy, and romeneyea for more than 16d., and that they sell not vernage for cret (nor) romeneyea for malveysn, but sell their sweet wines for what they are and not otherwise, under pain of forfeiture.—Letter Book G. fo. 98 b, 36 Ed. III.

11TH NOVEMBER, 1364. *A seller of unsound wine punished by being made to drink it.*—Pleas-holders before Adam de Bury, Mayor and the Aldermen on Tuesday the morrow of St. Martin (11th November), in the thirty-eighth year, etc.—

John Rightwys and John Penrose, taverners, were attached to make answer, etc., in a plea of contempt and trespass. As to the which, John de Brykelsworth, who prosecuted for the King and the Commonalty of the City of London, said the same John Rightwys and John Penrose, on the Eve of St. Martin in the thirty-eighth year, etc., in the Parish of St. Leonard Estchepe, in the tavern of \*Walter Roget there, sold red wine to

\* Afterwards Sheriff, in 1380. The family seem to have been long opulent vintners in the City.

all who came there, unsound and unwholesome for man, in deceit of the common people, and in contempt of our Lord the King, and to the shameful disgrace of the officers of the City ; to the grievous damage of the Commonalty, etc.\* And the four supervisors of the sale of wines in the City claimed to have cognizance of all defaults therein ; and the said John Rightwys and John Penrose were committed to Newgate.

And on the Saturday following, the said four supervisors appeared, etc. ; and they said that the said John Rightwys was in no way guilty of the sale of the said wine. Therefore he was to be acquitted thereof. And they said that the said John Penrose was guilty of the sale of such wine, and they wished him to be imprisoned for a year and a day.

Afterwards on the 22nd day of November in the thirty-eighth year aforesaid, the said four supervisors came and gave another judgment, in form as follows :—That the said John Penrose shall drink adraught of the same wine which he sold to the common people ; and the remainder of such wine shall then be poured on the head of the same John ; and that he shall forswear the calling of a vintner in the City of London for ever, unless he can obtain the favour of our Lord the King, as to the same. Letter Book G. fo. 112. 38, Ed. III.

14TH FEBRUARY, 1370. *Regulations for the Taverners.*—On Thursday, the Feast of St. Valentine (14th February), in the forty-fourth year, etc., the good men of the trade of vintners came before John de Chychestre, Mayor, and the Aldermen, and delivered to them certain articles, among them by common consent ordained, and entreated that the Mayor and Aldermen would order the same in future to be inviolably observed, for the good governance of the said trade, and the common profit, in words as follow :—

As concerning that you ask to see and have cognizance of the good rule of the Taverners, as to their sale and their other affairs, which same they have shown unto you, and requested by their petitions unto you the Vintners do shew, that to their mind the points and ordinances which follow, would be good and reasonable :—

In the first place—that immediately after the day of St.

\* This passage is here abbreviated for saving space, it being | lengthy, and set forth in tedious and uninteresting legal form.

Martin in Winter (11th November) shall be past, search be made throughout all the city by good and lawful people of the trade, and sworn thereunto, and that if any corrupt wine shall be found, wheresoever it may be, the same shall be condemned, without favour to anyone; that so no wine shall remain in taverns for sale, unless it be good and proper, on pain of forfeiting the same wines to the Chamber.

Also, that after new wines shall have been laid in the cellars of taverns for sale, the same shall not be exposed for sale, until the old wine has been removed therefrom, and put in some other place.

Also, that no white wine of Gascoigne, of La Rochel, of Spain, or of any other country, shall be laid in taverns where Rhenish wine is for sale, on pain of the vendor being forbidden to sell in the same house for one month after, or else making satisfaction to the Chamber, by award of the Mayor and Aldermen.

Also, that no Rhenish wine, or any other wine, shall be sold in taverns, except by rightful measures, sealed with the seals of the Aldermen on pain of paying half a mark and forfeiting such (unlawful) measure, and so, every time that such default shall be found.

Also, that the door of cellars in taverns where wines are laid down for sale, shall be kept open, without hindrance by bars, cloths, and other obstacles, that so one person of a company may enter to see the wine drawn, on pain of paying 40d., every time such default shall be found against this Ordinance.

Also, that at the coming of the first fleet in time of vintage, after the arrival of the first three or four ships from Gascoigne, due inquisition shall be made by advice of the Mayor, Aldermen and merchant vintners of good knowledge, and other good merchants with them, as to the price and sale of the wines (just imported) in the hands as well of strangers as denizens, at what rate the same are to be bought wholesale, upon common sale thereof, for good and ready payment: and that thereupon, the wines shall be set at a certain price for sale by retail, reasonably, without excessive profit, they having regard to the fact that this merchandise is exposed to greater peril and waste in itself than any other, as is very well known; and besides which wines do so often change their colour and savour, whereby they



lose oftentimes one half or a greater part thereof. And in the same manner let inquisition be made as to the export from Rekke. That so the taverners may be able to live and reasonably gain their livelihood.

Also, forasmuch as many times divers things happen which need amendment and punishment that cannot be known or perceived before the mishap occurs, and as to the which people of the trade have better knowledge than any one else; they have ordained that four men of the trade shall be chosen and sworn to search into such defaults, and to oversee that the Ordinances are well and justly kept and observed from year to year; and that no wines shall be exposed in taverns for sale, before that the four persons aforesaid shall have seen that they are good and fit for sale. And that if any one shall be rebellious against any of the said Ordinances the same four persons shall have power, together with a sergeant of the Mayor, at all times that he shall be required thereto, to sequester their houses, until the offence shall be duly reduced according to the award of you and the four men so sworn as aforesaid.—Letter Book G, fo. ccxliij, 44 Edw., III., and Riley. Memorials, pp. 341, 342, 343.

21ST SEPTEMBER, 1375. *Ordinance restricting the length of the Alestakes of Taverns.*—On Friday, the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle (21st September), etc., at the prayer of the Commonalty, making plaint that the alestakes projecting in front of the taverns in Chepe, and elsewhere in the City, extended too far over the King's highway, so as to impede those riding there and other persons, and by reason of their excessive weight, did tend to the great deterioration of the houses in which they were placed; it was ordained and granted by the Mayor and Aldermen as a befitting remedy for the same, and all the taverners of the City being summoned, orders were given unto them, on pain of paying 40 pence to the Chamber of the Guildhall every time the said Ordinance should be contravened, that in future no one should have an alestake bearing his sign, or leaves, projecting or extending over the King's highway more than 7 feet in length to the utmost; the said Ordinance to begin to take effect at the feast of St. Michael (29th September) then next ensuing, and always in future to be in force.—Riley's *Memorials*, pp. 386, 387. Letter Book H. fo. xxii. 49 Edw. III.

21st AUGUST, 1377. *Unsound wine condemned.*—Be it remembered that on the 21st day of August, in the first year of the reign of King Richard, etc., it was presented by Ralph Strode, Common Sergeant, before the Common Council of the City, in the Chamber of the Guildhall for certain causes assembled, that, whereas the franchise and custom of the said City did not allow any victuals, putrid and unsound for human use, to be housed within the City, but that the same should be condemned publicly, certain putrid wines, unsound and unfit for human use, were there housed in the cellar of William Anecroft, upon Botulves Wharf. Whereof he asked examination to be made by the Commonalty, through vintners, as to whether such wines, according to the custom aforesaid, were unsound or not. And thereupon, by assent of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty there were assigned John Cloptone, Nicholas Rote, Geoffrey Grygge, vintners; Wm. de Skames, John de Bome, and Peter de Cornelione, merchants of Bordeaux, to survey and examine whether the said wines were corrupt or not, and here to certify as to the truth thereon. Which vintners and merchants came here on the same day and said upon their oath, that there were in the same cellar eight vessels of one tun each, of which some were half full, and some less, but that no one of them was full of wine. All which wines were putrid, corrupt, and altogether unsound for human use. It was therefore adjudged by the Mayor and by John Grantham and other Aldermen, and John Northampton and Robert Launde, the sheriffs, that all the said wine should be poured out in the street and thrown away, and wholly made away with, according to the custom of the City. And they also said, that there were no more wines in the same cellar, but there were ten empty tuns there, in which no wine was found; the whole of the wine that had been in them now lying on the floor of the side cellar, having escaped, etc. And hereupon, all the vessels aforesaid were adjudged into John Watlyngtone, the common crier, as his fee. And precept was given to the same John Watlyngtone, to do execution of the judgment aforesaid. And be it remembered that all the wines before-mentioned were part of those that had been lately taken by the Barge of London at sea, and were housed there by Adam de Bury, late Mayor.—Letter Book H, fo. 62, 1 Richard II. Riley's *Memorials*, pp. 408, 809.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XIII<sup>TH</sup>, XIV<sup>TH</sup> AND XV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1159	2 tuns	£ s. d. 1 14 0	0 17 0	Nearly 1d.	Henry II.		Wine	London	Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., rot. 2, m. 2.
1159	4 casks	1 10 0	0 7 6	Nearly ½d.	do.		do.	do.	Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., rot. 2, m. 2.
1165	1 tun	1 0 6	1 0 6	1d.	do.		Mustum (new wine)	Southampton	Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., rot. 8, m. 1.
1165	3 casks	1 10 0	0 10 0	½d.	do.		Wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., rot. 8, m. 1.
1166	3 tuns	6 3 0	1 1 0	1d.	do.		do.	London	Pipe Roll, 13 Hen. II., rot. 1, m. 1.
1174	8 tuns	18 1 10*	2 5 0	2d.	do.		French and Moselle wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.
1174	10 tuns	10 10 0	1 1 0	1d.	do.		Mustum and red wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.
1174	30 casks	16 19 4*	0 11 3	½d.	do.		Wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.

\* Including carriage.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1174	4 tuns	£ s. d. 3 17 0*	£ s. d. 0 19 3	1d.	Henry II.		The best wine	Southamp'tn and sent to Marlborough	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 12, m. 1d.
1175	20 tuns	32 3 10*	1 12 0	1½d.	do.		Wine	Boston and sent to Lincoln	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 6, m. 1.
1175	100 casks	35 0 0	0 7 0	Nearly ¾d.	do.		do.	Southamp'tn	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 13, m. 1d.
1175	5 casks	4 Marks 4s.	0 11 6	Over ¾d.	do.		do.	London	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 1, m. 1d.
1175	7 casks	8 Marks 4s.	0 15 9	¾d.	do.		do.	Surrey	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 14d., m. 2.
1201 (?)	20 tuns	48 14 5	2 8 8½	About 2½d.	Abbot of Ramsey		Wine	Ramsey	Cart. Monast. de Rames. T. III., p. 323.
1202	36 casks	26 0 0	0 14 5½	Nearly ¾d.	King John	Bernard of Bordeaux	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. pat., 4 John. Vol. I., pars I., p. 28, col. 2.
1202	103 tuns	Mks. 300 and 25s.	0 13 2	do.	do.	Raymond de Neriz, Arnaud de Laugon, Pierre de Bourg	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. pat., 4 John. Vol. I., pars I., p. 28, col. 2.

\* Including carriage.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XIII<sup>TH</sup>, XIV<sup>TH</sup> AND XV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1159	2 tuns	£ s. d. 1 14 0	0 17 0	Nearly 1d.	Henry II.		Wine	London	Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., rot. 2, m. 2.
1159	4 casks	1 10 0	0 7 6	Nearly ½d.	do.		do.	do.	Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., rot. 2, m. 2.
1165	1 tun	1 0 6	1 0 6	1d.	do.		Mustum (new wine)	Southampton	Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., rot. 8, m. 1.
1165	3 casks	1 10 0	0 10 0	½d.	do.		Wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., rot. 8, m. 1.
1166	3 tuns	6 3 0	1 1 0	1d.	do.		do.	London	Pipe Roll, 13 Hen. II., rot. 1, m. 1.
1174	8 tuns	18 1 10*	2 5 0	2d.	do.		French and Moselle wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.
1174	10 tuns	10 10 0	1 1 0	1d.	do.		Mustum and red wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.
1174	30 casks	16 19 4*	0 11 3	½d.	do.		Wine	do.	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.

\* Including carriage.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1174	4 tuns	£ s. d. 3 17 0*	£ s. d. 0 19 3	1d.	Henry II.		The best wine	Southamp'tn and sent to Marlborough	Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 12, m. 1d.
1175	20 tuns	32 3 10*	1 12 0	1½d.	do.		Wine	Boston and sent to Lincoln	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 6, m. 1.
1175	100 casks	35 0 0	0 7 0	Nearly ¾d.	do.		do.	Southamp'tn	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 13, m. 1d.
1175	5 casks	4 Marks 4s.	0 11 6	Over ¾d.	do.		do.	London	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 1, m. 1d.
1175	7 casks	8 Marks 4s.	0 15 9	¾d.	do.		do.	Surrey	Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., rot. 14d., m. 2.
1201 (?)	20 tuns	48 14 5	2 8 8½	About 2½d.	Abbot of Ramsey		Wine	Ramsey	Cart. Monast. de Rames. T. III., p. 323.
1202	36 casks	26 0 0	0 14 5½	Nearly ¾d.	King John	Bernard of Bordeaux	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. pat., 4 John. Vol. I., pars I., p. 28, col. 2.
1202	103 tuns	Mks. 300 and 25s.	0 13 2	do.	do.	Raymond de Neriz, Arnaud de Laugon, Pierre de Bourg	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. pat., 4 John. Vol. I., pars I., p. 28, col. 2.

\* Including carriage.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XIII<sup>TH</sup>, XIII<sup>TH</sup> AND XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES—continued.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1224	63 tuns	£ s. d. 1 15 0	1 15 0	1½d.	Henry III.	Stephen de Bordeaux and William Columb	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., vol. I., p. 649, col. 1.
1224	39 tuns	1 13 0	1 13 0	1½d.	do.	Semirette and Galhard de Bordeaux	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., vol. I., p. 625, col. 1.
1224	7 tuns	17 10 0	2 10 0	2½d.	do.	Raymond de la Grave	Gascon wine		Rot. litt. claus., 8 Hen. III., vol. I., p. 650, col. 2.
1226	35 tuns	62 0 0	1 16 0	1½d.	do.	Pierre Benzun			Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III., vol. II., p. 122, col. 2.
1226	40 tuns	2 1 0	2 1 0	2d.	do.	William Raymond and Jean du Soley		London	Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III., vol. II., p. 122, col. 2.
1226	17 tuns	1 18 0	1 18 0	2d.	do.	Jean du Soley	Gascon wine	Bristol	Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III., vol. II., p. 122, col. 2.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1226	100 tuns	£ s. d. 175 0 0	£ s. d. 1 15 0	1½d.	Henry III.	Thibaud of Bristol, Pierre Simon, etc.	Gascon wine	Bristol	Rot. litt. claus., 10 Hen. III. vol. II., p. 86, col. 2
1230	2 tuns		1 10 0	1½d.	do.		Mustum Gallicum		Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.
1230	11 tuns		1 16 0	1½d.	do.		Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.
1230	12 tuns		2 3 4	2d.	do.		Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.
1230	3 tuns		2 5 0	2½d.	do.		Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.
1230	7 tuns		2 6 8	2½d.	do.		Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.
1234	Qu'tity not specified		3 0 0	About 3d.	do.	Ade le Brun	Wine	Northampton	Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III., m. 24.
1242	104 tuns				Henry III.	Arnaud Calhau and Guilhem Chicaud	Gascon wine	Bordeaux	Rot Vasc., 27 Hen. III., m. 17.



PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XII<sup>TH</sup>, XIII<sup>TH</sup> AND XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES—continued.

Dates.	Sales and purchases	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1242	302 tuns	£ s. d. 270 0 0	£ s. d. 0 17 10	3d.	Henry III.	Pierre and Arnaud Calhau	Gascon wine	Bordeaux	Fines, libérate et contra-brevia de Vasconia, 27 Hen. III., m. 13.
	100 tuns	Mks. 1, 110 11s. 4d.			do.	Arch-bishop of Bordeaux	Gascon wine	do.	Rot. Vasc. 26 Hen. III. m. 2.
1243	105 tuns	182 8 0	About 1 14 0	1½d.		Henry III.	Gascon wine		Mag. Rot. 29 Hen. III. Rot. ult., m. 1a.
to	404 tuns		1 0 0	1d.	do.		Gascon and Anjou wine		Mag. Rot. 29 Hen. III. Rot. ult., m. 1a.
	22 tuns		1 6 8	1½d.	do.		St. John and Moselle wine	London	Mag. Rot. 29 Hen. III. Rot. ult., m. 1a.
1246	20 tuns	2,310 2 8			do.		Musum Gallicum	and	Mag. Rot. 29 Hen. III. Rot. ult., m. 1a.
	998 tuns		1 10 0	1½d.	do.		Gascony, Anjou, French, St. John and Moselle wines	Sandwich	Mag. Rot. 29 Hen. III. Rot. ult., m. 1a.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1251	6 tuns	£ s. d. 12 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0	2d.	Henry III.	Peter of Serres	Gascon wine	London and Sandwich	Royal and other hist. letters illust. of the reign of Hen. III. Vol. II., p. 95, No. cccxv.
1251	120 tuns	180 0 0	1 10 0	1½d.	do.	Bordeaux Merchants	Gascon wine		
1252	10 tuns		1 12 0	1½d.	do.	Pelerin the Gascon	Gascon wine		Royal and other hist. letters illust. of the reign of Hen. III. Vol. II., p. 100. No. cccxcviii.
1252	27 tuns		1 10 0	1½d.	do.	Pierre de Bourg, Arnand de Gaillac, Bernard de Puteo	Gascon wine		
1252	30 tuns		2½ Mks. (33s. 4d.)	1½d.	do.	Bertrand de Palacio, Pierre de Cernex, Pierre de Perg	Gascon wine		

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PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XIIIth, XIIIth and XIVth CENTURIES—continued.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1284	2 casks	£ s. d. 5 3 7	2 11 9	2½d.		King of Scotland	Wine	Perth	Rotuli Scaccari Reg. Scot- orum. Vol. I., p. 15.
1285	19 casks		2 0 0	2d.	King of Scotland		do.	do.	Rotuli Scaccari Reg. Scot- orum. Vol. I., pp. 2 and 3.
1285	17 casks	31 3 4	1 16 8	1½d.	do.		Red wine		
1285	6 casks	9 3 4	1 10 6	1½d.	do.		do.		
1285	3 casks	4 10 0	1 10 0	1½d.	do.		White wine		Rotuli Scaccari Reg. Scot- orum. Vol. I., p. 28.
1285	6 casks	12 2 0	2 0 2	2d.	do.	Purgesses of Ayr	White wine	Ayr	
1275	35 tuns	65 15 1½	1 17 6½	1½d.	Edward I.	Elías de la Nande	Gascon wine	Bordeaux	Patent Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 16.
1276	100 tuns	190 0 0	1 18 0	2d.	do.	Henry le Waleys	Gascon wine	do.	do. 4 Ed. I., m. 25.
1277	11 tuns	22 0 0	2 0 0	2d.	do.	Elías de Cyreys	Bordeaux wine	Chester	do. 5 Ed. I., m. 13.

# HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND. 327

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1277	4 tuns	£ s. d. 10 1 0	2 10 0	2½d.	Queen Eleanor	Henry le Waleys	Gascon wine	London	Patent Rolls, 5 Ed. I., m. 13.
1277	2 tuns	6 0 0	3 0 0	3d.	The King's Children		Gascon wine	Windsor	do. 5 Ed. I., m. 14.
1277	138 tuns	322 0 0	2 6 8	2½d.	Edward I.	Elias de la Nande	Gascon wine	London	do. 5 Ed. I., m. 14.
1277		101 5 0			do.	Reymund Aleman	Gascon wine	do.	do. 5 Ed. I., m. 14.
1278	4 tuns	10 14 0	2 13 6	10d.	Abbey of Durham		Wine	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 488.
1281	180 tuns	182 10 0	1 0 3	1d.	Edward I.	Raymond Monader	Gascon wine	Bordeaux	Rot. pat. et chart. Vasc., 8, 9, 10 Ed. I., m. 3.
1282	100 tuns	400 marks	2 13 4	2½d.	do.	Henry le Waleys	Gascon wine	do.	Rot. Vasc., 10 Ed. I., m. 2.
1289	5 tuns	10 17 3	2 3 5	About 2d.	Bishop Swinfield		Wine	Bristol	Household Exp. of Bishop Swinfield, p. cx.
1292	34 casks and 1 pipe	71 3 10	2 1 2½	2d.	Abbey of Durham		Wine		Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 488.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XIIIth, XIIIth and XIVth CENTURIES—continued.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1295/	6 casks	£ s. d. 24 0 0	4 0 0	4d.	Arch- bishop Robert Winchel- sea		Red wine	York	Archæologia, Vol. I., p. 330.
	4 casks	14 13 4	3 13 4	3½d.			Claret wine		
	1 cask	3 6 0	3 6 0	3½d.			Choice white wine		
	1 cask	3 0 0	3 0 0	3d.			White wine for cooking		
	1 pipe	3 0 0	3 0 0	6d.			Oasey		
1299	11 anlms	14 6 0	1 6 0		Abbey of Durham		Rhine wine	Hull, Hartlepool, and Newcastle	Account Rolla of the Abbey of Durham, p. 494.
	1 butt	4 0 0	4 0 0	8d.			Malvoisie		
	16 casks	36 7 0*	2 5 5½	2½d.			Wine		
1300	1,411 tms and 10½ quarts	4,393 17 10	3 2 3	3½d.	Edward I.				Liber quotidianus contra rotulitoris garterobae, anno regni regis Ed. I. 28, Londini, 1787, p. 358.
1300	156 tuns	136 0 0	0 17 5	½d.	do.				

\* Including carriage to Durham.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1302	102 tuns	£ s. d. 288 18 6	£ s. d. 2 16 7	2½d.	Edward I.		Poitou and French wine	Sandwich	Patent Rolls, 29 Ed. I., m. 19.
1303	2 tuns	3 6 8	1 13 4	About 1½d.		Exors. of Bishop of London	Old wine	London	Accounts of the Exors. of R. de Gravesend, p. 60.
1304	87 tuns	245 0 0	2 16 3	2½d.	Edward I.	Peter Baleygue	Wine		Patent Rolls, 32 Ed. I., m. 2.
1307	1 cask	2 0 0	2 0 0	Nearly 2d.	}	Exors. of Thos. Bitton, Bishop of Exeter	Wine	Crediton	
1307	1 cask	3 0 0	3 0 0	About 3d.			Rochelle wine	Exeter	Accounts of the Executors of Thomas Bitton, Bishop of Exeter, p. 10.
1307	20 empty casks	0 16 0	0 0 9½				Empty Casks	do.	
1311	7 tuns	20 5 0	2 18 0	2½d.	Edward II.	Merchants of Agen	Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 6 Ed. II., part I., m. 8.
1311	85 tuns	331 17 0	3 18 1	3½d.	do.				Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. III., part I., m. 20.
1316	54 tuns	225 6 8	4 3 5	4d.	do.	Arnold de Foraye, Arnold de Garumhal	Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 10 Ed. II., part I., m. 34.

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PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XII<sup>TH</sup>, XIII<sup>TH</sup> AND XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES—continued.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1316	24 tuns and 5 pipes	£ 110 8 4	£ s. d. 4 3 3	4d.	Edward II.	Vidal de la Sube	Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 10 Ed. II., part I., m. 34.
1317	2,600 tuns	£10,400	4 0 0	4d.	do.	Anthony Peesaigne		To be delivered to the Royal Army in Scotland	Patent Rolls, 10 Ed. II., part II., m. 36.
1318	300 tuns		4 0 0	4d.	do.		Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 11 Ed. II., part II., m. 29.
1327	1 cask	3 3 4	3 3 4	3d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Wine	King's Lynn	Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, part III., p. 213.
1328	20 casks	75 0 0	3 15 0	3½d.	King of Scotland		Wine	Scotland	Rot. Sc. Reg. Scriptorum, Vol. I., p. 119.
1335	5 gallons and 3 quarts	0 11 6		2s.	Abbey of Durham		Vernage wine		Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 527.
1336	1 gallon	0 0 8		8d.	Abbey of Durham		Wine		Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 528.

Date.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1338	100 tuns	£ 433 6 8	£ s. d. 4 6 8	4½d.	Edward III.	R. de la Pole	Gascon wine		} Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. III., part II., m. 4; and Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., part I., m. 13 and 14.
1338	51 tuns	221 0 0	4 6 8	4½d.	do.	J. de Pulteneye	Gascon wine		
1340	1 pipe	7 0 0	7 0 0	1s. 2d.	Abbey of Durham	Robert de Castro	Rhine wine	Durham	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 538.
1342	165 tuns	330 0 0	2 0 0	2d.	Edward III.	Wm. de Cassex	Gascon wine	Brittany	Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., part III., m. 10.
1342	60 tuns	140 0 0	2 6 8	2½d.	do.	P. de la Longare, P. de Bardyn	Gascon wine	do.	Patent Rolls, 16 Ed. III., part III., m. 2.
1343	37 tuns	86 6 8	2 6 6	2½d.	do.	P. de Camperyen	Gascon wine	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Patent Rolls, 17 Ed. III., part II., m. 34.
1346	43 tuns	133 19 7	3 1 4	3d.	do.	Gallard Sadas	Gascon wine		Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. III., part I., m. 7.
1347	8 casks	33 6 8*	4 3 4	4d.	Abbey of Durham		Wine	Mull	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 545.
1351	5 casks	40 6 10*	8 1 4	8d.	Abbey of Durham		Red wine	Newcastle	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 553.

\* Including freight, gauge, and other sundry expenses.



### 332 HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XII<sup>TH</sup>, XIII<sup>TH</sup> AND XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES—continued.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid.	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1351	1 cask	£ s. d. 7 11 10*	£ s. d. 7 11 10*	7½d.	Abbey of Durham		White wine	Newcastle	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 553.
1354	1 cask	5 13 4	5 13 4	5½d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Wine	King's Lynn	Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. Appendix, part III., p. 219.
1355	3 casks	17 6 8*	5 15 7	5½d.	Abbey of Durham		Wine	Hull	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 556.
1360	1 gallon and 1 pint	0 4 6		About 4s.	Abbey of Durham		Wine of Crete	Durham	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 563.
1366	1 pipe	4 0 11	4 0 11	8d.	Corporation of Beverley		Wine	Beverley	Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, p. 15.
1367	1 pipe	3 5 4	3 5 4	6½d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Rhine wine	King's Lynn	} Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. Appendix, part III., p. 220.
1367	1 pipe	3 10 0	3 10 0	7d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Wine	do.	
1369	4 gallons	0 2 8		8d.	Sheriffs of Exeter		Wine	Exeter	Oliver. History of Exeter pp. 319, 320.
1373	1 pip	4 10 0	4 10 0	9d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Red wine	King's Lynn	Eleventh Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS. Appendix, part III., p. 221.

\* Including carriage to Durham.

Dates.	Sales and purchases.	Amount paid	Price per cask.	Price per gallon.	Buyer.	Seller.	Origin or quality of the wine.	Town or port where the wine was sold.	Authorities.
1374	2 casks	£ s d. 11 11	£ s d. 5 17 6	5½d.	Abbey of Durham		Red and white wine	Durham	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 580.
1375	1 cask	12 0 0	12 0 0	1s.	Abbey of Durham		Red wine	Newcastle	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 582.
1375	1 pipe	7 16 0	7 16 0	1s. 4d.	Abbey of Durham	Adam de Bulkham	Rhenish wine	do.	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 582.
1375	5 gallons	0 5 10		1s. 2d.	Abbey of Durham		White wine	do.	Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 582.
1380	1 cask	8 0 0	8 0 0	8d	Boro' of King's Lynn		Red wine	Newcastle	Eleventh Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix part III., p. 590.
1380	1 rundlet (60 gals.)	2 15 0		11d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Rhenish wine	do.	
1386	1 pipe	3 6 8	3 6 8	6½d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Wine	King's Lynn	Eleventh Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix part III., p. 923.
1390	1 pipe	2 0 0	2 0 0	4d.	Boro' of King's Lynn		Gascon wine	King's Lynn	

# 334 HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

## *Cost of Carriage and Freight.*

		£	s.	d.
A.D. 1165.*	20 empty casks sent from Oxford to Southampton	-	-	0 10 0
„ 1174.†	8 tuns sent from London to Woodstock	2	10	4
„ 1208.‡	2 casks sent from Southampton to Bitterne	-	-	0 1 4
	1 cask sent from Southampton to Sutton	-	-	0 1 6
	4 casks sent from Southampton to Marwell	-	-	0 6 6
	2 casks sent from Southampton to Farnham	-	-	0 6 0
	1 cask sent from Southampton to Waltham	-	-	0 1 2
	1 cask sent from Southampton to Dunton	-	-	0 3 6
	1 cask sent from Southampton to Witney	-	-	0 6 0
	1 cask sent from Portsmouth to Fareham, by water	-	-	0 0 6
	2 casks sent from Wleseia to Sutton, by the Itchen	-	-	0 2 4
	1 cask sent from Waltham to Menes	-	-	0 2 0
„ 1208.§	1 cask from Exeter or Topsham to Taunton	-	-	0 2 0
„ 1230.	6 casks from London to Windsor	-	-	0 14 0
	Loading, unloading and straw for same	-	-	0 11 8
	4 casks from London to Keniton	-	-	0 4 8
	Other charges on same	-	-	0 1 6
	2 casks from Southampton to Clarendon	-	-	0 2 4
	Loading charges	-	-	0 0 4
	4 casks from Southampton to Guildford	0	7	0
	Loading and unloading charges	-	-	0 1 0
„ 1231 ¶	28 casks from Bridgnorth to Castle Matilda (in Elvein)	-	-	6 0 0

\* Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., rot. 9, m. 1d.

† Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.

‡ Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, Introd., p. xix and pp. 21, 31, 42, 45, 53.

§ Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society's Transactions, Vol. XVIII., p. 82.

|| Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. III., m. 6.

¶ Pipe Roll, 15 Hen. III., Salop; in Antiquities of Shropshire, Vol. I., p. 277.

# HISTORY OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND. 335

		£	s.	d.
A.D. 1234.*	8 casks from Southampton to Winchester - - - - -	0	10	9
	4 casks from Southampton to Beaulieu, Christchurch, Brumore and Clarendon - - - - -	0	8	8
	3 casks from Southampton to Woodstock - - - - -	0	15	6
„ 1276.†	30 tuns from Sandwich to London - - -	3	0	0
„ 1291.‡	415 casks and 2 pipes from Hull to Brustwyk, Kowell, Knaresburgh, Hexwra, Alnwick, Berwick and Norham - - - - -	78	2	10½
„ 1332.§	7 casks from Hull to Hartlepool and Newcastle, by water - - - - -	1	4	0
„ 1375.	From London to Lisbon, freight per tun - - - - -	1	0	0
	From London to Bayonne, freight per tun - - - - -	0	10	0
	From London to Bordeaux and Rochelle, during the vintage (autumn) season, freight per tun -	0	8	0
	And during the rek (spring) season -	0	7	0
„ 1396.¶	From Bordeaux to Waterford, freight per tun - - - - -	0	14	0
	From Bordeaux to Dublin, freight per tun - - - - -	0	15	0
	From Bordeaux to Beaumaris or Chester -	0	18	0
	Also - - - - -	0	12	0
	From the Bec d'Ambès to Chester, freight per tun - - - - -	0	10	0

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 19 Hen.

III., m. 1b.

† Rot. Pat., 4 Ed. I., m. 3.

‡ Mag. Rot., 19 Ed. I., Ebor.; in Ch. Frost, Notices, etc., p. 106.

§ Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, p. 516.

|| Inquisition taken at Quentonich, 49 Ed. III.

¶ Chester, Recognizance Roll, 18-19 Ric. II., m. 2; m. 2d.

### CHAPTER XIII.

ONE of the most prominent features of the English mediæval life is its unlimited hospitality. The courts of some monarchs were magnificent and the attendants numerous to a degree hardly credible. Stow thus describes that of Richard II. :—" His royalty was such that wheresoever he lay, his person was guarded by 200 Cheshire men ; he had about him thirteen bishops, besides barons, knights, esquires and others ; insomuch, that 10,000 people came to the household for meat every day, as appeared by the messes told out to 200 servitors."

Such figures help us to understand why such considerable quantities of wine had to be regularly purveyed for the royal household. The nobility were also most extravagant in their retinue, and some idea may be formed of the hospitality of opulent barons from an account of the household expenses of the Earl of Lancaster, in 1213, from which it appears that this nobleman expended in housekeeping during that year no less a sum than £7,300—a considerable amount for the period.

The nobility, as a rule, spent almost the whole of their revenues, in time of peace, in entertaining at their castles in the country, which were constantly open to strangers of distinction, as well as to their own vassals and followers. This prodigality began

to decline towards the latter part of the fourteenth century; some barons, instead of dining in their great hall with their numerous guests and retainers, according to ancient custom, chose to dine in private parlours with their families and friends, although this innovation was very unpopular, and subjected those who adopted it to much ill-will and reproach.

Dignitaries of the Church and some of the great Abbeys also practised hospitality on a very lavish scale and were responsible for the consumption of much wine. In the household book of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, at the close of the thirteenth century, we see that the list of the Bishop's personal paid attendants, omitting occasional helpers, amounted on an average to forty persons not counting naturally many chaplains and clerks in orders, usually in attendance. Churchmen of rank moved in a circle of officials and ecclesiastics, who assisted in their temporal affairs as well as spiritual concerns, and were variously partakers of their bounty.

But, whilst the King, the nobility and clergy were the favoured few who could afford to buy wine wholesale, sending even their own ships to Gascony to bring back considerable quantities of this commodity for their own use, the merchants and artisans, except in years of dearth, were able to recuperate their strength and comfort themselves with the juice of the grape at the numerous taverns where it was retailed throughout the realm at a very low price.

The King was by far the largest purchaser of wine in the realm. He required very considerable quantities for his armies in the field, whether war was carried on in Scotland, Ireland, Wales or France,

and the monarch had sometimes recourse to the most arbitrary measures to procure the wine he stood in need of for his soldiery. In August, 1231, for instance, at the height of summer, and consequently, when no or very few wine-laden vessels arrived in England, the King sent an order to the bailiffs of Winchester, Worcester, Bristol, Bridgenorth, Southampton and Gloucester, that no taverner should have or sell wine, but that all the wine that could be found in their respective towns should be forwarded with all speed to the royal army in Wales, where the King had gone on an expedition.\*

Much wine was also required for the royal castles, large and small, on the Scottish border, or the marches of Wales, or at all the most vulnerable parts of the coast of England, as well as in London and Windsor. The large garrisons always kept in readiness in the North by the Plantagenets against the Scottish foe were responsible for a very considerable consumption of wine there. If we take the reign of Edward III. alone as an illustration, we find that this monarch ordered 300 casks to be bought and sent towards Scotland, in 1327,† and 200 casks to be sent to Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1329;‡ similar supplies being forwarded to Carlisle and Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1334.§ In 1335, large quantities of wine were stored

\* *Calend. Close Rolls*, 15 Hen. III., m. 8d. *Mandatum est ballivis Wintonie quod, sicut corpora et omnia catalla sua diligunt, non permittant aliquo modo quod aliqua taberna vinorum teneatur in villa sua, nec vina in ea vendantur, sed omnia vina ville sue cum omni festinatione sequi faciant exercitum regis in partibus Wallie, in quibus rex est in expeditione sua; valiter et ita viriliter se habentes*

*in hac parte ne pro defectui sui rex ad eos se graviter capere debeat. Wigornia, Bristol', Brug', Suht', Glouc'. 2nd August, 1231.*

† *Calend. Close Rolls*, 1 Ed. III., Part II., m. 21.

‡ *Rot. origin. in curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio*, Vol. II., fo. 90, col. 1 (2 and 3 Ed. III.).

§ *Calend. Close Rolls*, 8 Ed. III., m. 3 and m. 6.

at Kingston-upon-Hull,\* whence it could be sent quickly to Berwick, and where it could also remain in perfect safety. In 1336, more wine was sent for the King's garrisons at Newcastle-on-Tyne and Berwick-upon-Tweed,† whilst 100 tuns were bought at Kingston-upon-Hull and forwarded to Skymburnesse to Robert Tybay, the receiver of the King's victuals at Carlisle.‡ In 1338, further orders were issued for the royal castles and other places in Scotland to be supplied with wine,§ and similar instructions were often given during the following years.

Wine was also abundantly supplied to the King's fortresses in or near Wales such as Bridgnorth and Wenlock,|| Montgomery Castle,¶ and other inland strongholds such as Pontefract,\*\* or Windsor,†† as well as the numerous castles defending the coast, particularly in the south, from Dover to Corfe Castle, where wine was sent in 1276.‡‡

Some wine which had been sent to Porchester Castle by Edward II. gave rise to a very typical incident illustrating the methods of royal officers and their treatment of the mercantile classes. It was discovered, in 1325, that thirty tuns of wine which had been purchased for the munition of the castle had become quite putrid and unfit for consumption; to make good their loss, which could only be attributed to their ignorance or carelessness, the officers of Porchester Castle, under the lead of Hugh le Despenser the younger, compelled

\* Calend. Close Rolls, 8 Ed. III., m. 3; 9 Ed. III., m. 35, m. 9d.

† Calend. Close Rolls, 10 Ed. III., m. 41.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls, 10 Ed. III., m. 4.

|| Calend. Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 22, m. 20. Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, Vol. I., p. 305.

¶ Rot. Pip., 21 Hen. III., Salop.

\*\* Calend. Close Rolls, 10 Ed. III., m. 20.

†† Calend. Close Rolls, 10 Ed. III., m. 8.

‡‡ Calend. Close Rolls, 4 Ed. I., m. 14.



some wine merchants to come to the castle from Southampton and kept them there prisoners until the unfortunate merchants agreed to "buy" the bad wine at £3 a tun, a bargain which they were reluctantly forced to accept, paying £90 to regain their liberty.\*

Of all castles defending England's ports and coasts, Dover was one of the most important, and supplies of wine were sent there at frequent intervals, no less than sixty-one tuns being carried there, in 1273, from Sandwich.†

A good idea of the supplies of food and drink deemed necessary for a royal castle is given by a list of victuals for Dover Castle in war time, necessary to maintain 1,000 men for forty days. To make daily 1,000 loaves took four and a half quarters of wheat, or 180 quarters for forty days. Six thousand gallons of wine at a quart a day per head took twenty tuns. Two hundred and sixty quarters of malt brewed 520 gallons daily, or two quarts a head and twenty over.‡

The King, apart from important purchases for his field forces or victualling his castles before the outbreak of hostilities, never bought more wine than was thought sufficient for his household, from time to time, in different parts of the country where matters of State or the pleasures of the chase led him.

In January, 1205, for instance, King John had three tuns of wine sent to Cranbourne, eight to Dorchester, eight to Gillingham, five to Bere, three to

\* *Calend. Close Rolls*, 1 Ed. III. Part II., m. 19. 13th July, 1327; they obtained from the Regent £70 back out of the £90 as they were able to prove that the wine was putrid and rotten.

† *Calend. Close Rolls*, 1 Ed. I.,

m. 1; 6 Ed. I., m. 10, etc. Much wine was also supplied for "the munition of the Tower of London." See *Calend. Close Rolls*, 10 Ed. III., m. 17, m. 15, etc.

‡ Mary Bateson, *Mediæval England*, p. 314.

Bishop's Sutton, three to Sherborne, two to Porchester, all from Southampton alone; six months later further supplies of wine were forwarded from that port for the royal household at Freemantle, Ludgershall, Marlborough, Gillingham, Clarendon, etc.\*

In August, 1274, Edward I. ordered five tuns of the wines of his right prise at Southampton to be sent to Brehull, to be placed in his cellars, against his approaching arrival there;† in the following month twelve tuns were to be sent to Windsor,‡ and a fortnight later twenty tuns of the best wines to be found in Bristol were to be bought for the monarch and sent to Shrewsbury "against the King's arrival there." § Again, in May, 1275, ten tuns of the King's wines were ordered to Winchester, ten to Clarendon, and ten to Woodstock, from Southampton.||

On the 16th of June, 1275, a hundred tuns were to be divided between the King's cellars at Westminster and those at the Tower of London,¶ and two days later ten tuns of the King's wines at Boston were ordered to be sent to Lincoln and thence to *Thydwel*, near the Peak (*Peccum*)\*\*; two days later, again, twenty tuns were ordered to be bought for the King at Chester and kept in the Castle there, and a similar quantity was to be reserved and kept in a safe place, in case the King should require it at his next visit to Chester in the following month of August.†† In November, Adam

\* A general History of Hampshire. Milner, Vol. II., p. 177.

† Close Rolls, 2 Ed. I., m. 6. 12th August, 1274.

‡ Close Rolls, 2 Ed. I., m. 4. 20th September, 1274.

§ Close Rolls, 2 Ed. I., m. 4. 2nd October, 1274.

|| Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 15. 26th May, 1275.

¶ Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 11. 16th June, 1275.

\*\* Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 11. 18th June, 1275.

†† Calend. Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 9. 20th June, 1275.

de Winton, keeper of Winchester, was ordered to buy thirty tuns of wine for the King's use, and to cause fifteen tuns thereof to be carried to Gillingham against the King's arrival there, the remainder being carried to Winchester Castle and kept in the King's cellar there.\*

In June, 1276, orders were issued for ten tuns to be sent from Southampton to Woodstock and ten to Lyndhurst for Queen Eleanor,† whilst, in July, ten tuns were sent from Boston to Lincoln and ten to Nottingham.‡

In January, 1277, twenty tuns were sent from London to Woodstock; § in August, 1278, twenty tuns of good wine were ordered to be bought at Southampton, ten of which were to be carried to Quenyngton and ten to Dunameney, there to be placed in the royal cellars before the King's arrival in those parts and before Michaelmas.||

In November, nine tuns were sent from Sandwich to Dover and Northburn for the King's household there; ¶ in December, ten tuns were sent from Bristol to Devizes,\*\* and in January, 1279, ten tuns were sent from Oxford to Bannebiry, five from London to Compton in Hennemersh, six from London to Woodstock, and fifty to Oxford; †† from Boston, forty tuns were to be sent to Lincoln in April and thence ten to Rockingham, ten to Northampton, ten to Geytinton and ten to Silverton. ‡‡

\* Calend. Close Rolls, 3 Ed. I., m. 2. 11th November, 1275.

† Calend. Close Rolls, 4 Ed. I., m. 9. 4th June, 1276.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls, 4 Ed. I., m. 6. 24th July, 1276.

§ Calend. Close Rolls, 5 Ed. I., m. 12. 3rd January, 1277.

|| Calend. Close Rolls, 6 Ed. I., m. 5. 21st August, 1278.

¶ Calend. Close Rolls, 6 Ed. I., m. 2. 12th November, 1278.

\*\*Calend. Close Rolls, 7 Ed. I., m. 11. 26th December, 1278.

††Calend. Close Rolls, 7 Ed. I., m. 11. 6th January, 1279.

‡‡Calend. Close Rolls, 7 Ed. I., m. 7. 28th April, 1279.

These few examples, which could easily be multiplied, suffice to show the considerable amount of wine required for the royal household, independently of what was purchased for military purposes, and of the numerous gifts of casks of wine, by the Monarch to his consort, his children and relatives, abbeys, chaplains, knights, squires and faithful servants in all parts of the country.

The Queen, alone, used to receive a considerable allowance of wine for the needs of her household in London and different parts of the realm. In 1159, for instance, the consort of Henry II. received £8 worth of wine in London,\* whilst some was sent for her use to Winchester,\* Wiltshire\* and Southampton.† In 1165, wine was sent for the Queen from Southampton to Clarendon, Woodstock, Salisbury and Chippenham;‡ in 1169, no less than £39 11s. 10d. was devoted to purchases of wine for the Queen,§ £2 4s. 10d. being paid besides for the carriage of some of the Queen's wines from London to Oxford,§ whilst a few years later some of Her Majesty's wines at Oxford were sent on from thence to Woodstock,‡ and, at the same time, further supplies were sent for the use of her household to Nottingham|| and Marlborough.¶ This last entry is all the more interesting as illustrating how distinctly the King's and the Queen's households were kept, since it is followed immediately by another entry stating that four casks of the best wine had also been sent to Marlborough to the King.\*\*

\* Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., rot. 2, m. 2.

† Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 2d.

‡ Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., rot. 8, m. 2d.

§ Pipe Roll, 16 Hen. II., rot. 1, m. 2d.

|| Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 3, m. 1.

¶ Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 12, m. 1d.

\*\*Et p. iv doliis vini optimi missi Regi ap. Merlebg. et p. carriagio eoz lxxvii s. p. br. R. Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., rot. 12, m. 1.

Similar instances are equally frequent during subsequent reigns. Edward I. giving four tuns of wine to Queen Eleanor, in 1277,\* and Queen Isabella, Edward II.'s consort, sending one Ranulf de Lugteberkes, in 1313, to purchase wine, ale and other necessities for the office of buttery of her household,† whilst Edward III. granted to Queen Philippa, towards the expenses of her household, a third part of the King's prises of wines in the ports of Kingston-upon-Hull, Southampton and Bristol.‡

Far more remarkable, however, is the fact that the King's children had their own household, the accounts of which were kept separately whenever the Court was on tour and they were left behind; thus, in May, 1277, two tuns of wine were sent for Edward I.'s children at Windsor Castle,§ and, in 1333, Edward III. ordered Richard de la Pole, the royal Butler, to deliver to Thomas de Pydynton, Butler of Edward, the King's son, who was then but three years old, as much wine as was necessary for the expenses of the young Prince's household until Martinmas.

The quantity of wine given away by the King to religious houses, chaplains, knights, old servants, men and women, in all parts of the country, was very considerable.

The King's relatives were naturally foremost amongst the recipients of such gifts. In 1292,

\* Rot. Litt. Pat., 5 Ed. I., m. 13, 5th June, 1277; *see also* Calend. Close Rolls, 4 Ed. I., m. 9, 4th June, 1276.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 7 Ed. II., Part II., m. 13.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 10 Ed. III., Part II., m. 26.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 5 Ed. I., m. 14.

Calend. Close Rolls, 7 Ed. III., Part I., m. 15. Many gifts of wine from the King to his son are recorded in the Close Rolls; *see* 10 Ed. III., m. 12; 12 Ed. III., Part III., m. 31; etc.

Edward I. ordered that Princess Mary, his daughter, a nun of Fontevrault dwelling at Amesbury, should receive twenty casks of wine annually,\* a grant which her nephew, Edward III., reduced to ten casks yearly, in 1327.†

Envoys of foreign princes and visitors of distinction were also often given a present of wine from the royal cellars; thus, in 1255, Henry III. sent four casks of wine to the New Temple, London, for the use of the envoys of the King of Castile,‡ and, in 1357, Henry Pycard, the King's butler, was ordered to deliver a pipe of Gascon wine to David de Bruys.§

By far the most numerous gifts of wine were sent by all mediæval monarchs to monasteries, churches and ecclesiastics; there are a great many mandates in their favour, similar to the following issued by Edward I., in 1279:—

“Mandate to Matthew de Columbariis, taker of the King's wines at Southampton and his successors, to deliver yearly a tun of wine of the right prise to the abbot and convent of King's Beaulieu, for the celebration of Mass in the church there, formerly granted to them by Henry III., the King having, at the instance of R., Bishop of Bath and Wells, granted that they shall have the same yearly without having to obtain a special letter or any other mandate from the King.” ||

\* Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, T. I., p. 112.

† Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, T. I., p. 240.

‡ Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, T. I., p. 54.

§ Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, T. I., p. 388.

|| *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 7 Ed. I., m. 24. Similar grant of Henry

III. to the Abbey of Netley was renewed by Edward I. See *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 8 Ed. I., m. 25. Henry III. had even granted a cask of wine of the right prise yearly to the nuns of Tarente, in 1239. See *Liberate*, 23 Hen. III., m. 4, and *Calend. of Documents relating to Scotland*, T. I., p. 269.

The King's chaplains usually received some special gift of wine besides their daily allowance at the royal table; John de Wodeford, Edward III.'s chaplain, was granted for life a cask of *good wine* in 1340, beyond the three tuns already granted to him by previous letters patent.\* In 1166, a simple friar was given three tuns of wine by Henry II.,† and there are many instances of similar gifts to men whose claim to the King's bounty has not been recorded; Giles de Beauchamp (*de Belle Campo*), for instance, being granted two tuns of the right prise yearly at Bristol, and Thomas de Bradestan six tuns for life, both in 1348.‡

As to the King's esquires, who formed really part of the royal household and received their daily allowance of wine at the King's table, they were sometimes granted an extra quantity of wine, either in bulk and yearly, or else daily in the shape of a supplementary allowance; thus, Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, when esquire of Richard II., in 1398, was granted a cask of the royal wines annually, a gift which was confirmed the following year by Richard's successor.§ In 1374, G. C., one of Edward III.'s esquires at Windsor, was granted a *pitcher* of wine *daily*.||

There are also examples of females, other than the King's relatives, receiving royal gifts of wine. In 1337, one Joan de Carrue was granted six

\* Calend. Patent Rolls, 14 Ed. III., Part III., m. 5; see also Part I., m. 31, and Calend. Close Rolls, 20 Ed. III., Part I., m. 20; 21 Ed. III., Part I., m. 24, etc.

† Pipe Roll, 13 Hen. II., rot. 1, m. 1. Et p. iii tonell. vini q. Rex dedit frii Hostoni de S. Audomaro vi li. iiis. p. br. R.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 23 Ed. III., Part I., m. 44 and m. 43.

§ Syllabus to Rymer's Fædera, T. II., p. 533.

|| Syllabus to Rymer's Fædera, T. I., p. 468.

tuns of wine yearly out of the King's right prise in the port of Bristol, during pleasure ; \* this grant was renewed the two following years, and was made a definite grant for life in 1340.†

One of the illustrious recipients of the King's gifts of wine was the *King* of Man, who received forty marks, 100 crannocks of wheat and five casks of wine annually for protecting certain parts of the coast of England and Ireland.‡

Wine was the daily beverage at the master's table in most of the baronial halls, and the first care of Sir Perceval of Wales, when a messenger is introduced whilst he and his friends are at table, is to order that wine and meat be given to him as to the other guests.§

All the great feudal barons, whose wealth was considerable for the times, kept a very large household and entertained lavishly. They often imported their wines direct from Gascony ; thus, in 1396, Thomas, Earl of Kent, the King's brother, was granted a licence to send the barge called *La Katherine of Quarre*, once a year during the next two years, beyond seas to fetch wines which he could bring to any port in the realm without paying prisage or custom. A few years previously, the King had sent orders to the collectors of the subsidy on wines at the port of London not to exact the payment of nine pounds for sixty casks of wine imported by John, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster,|| and the same monarch granted a safe

\* Calend Patent Rolls, 11 Ed. III., Part II., m. 28.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 14 Ed. III., Part I., m. 13.

‡ Syllabus to Rymer's *Fædera*, Vol. I., p. 36 11th July, 1235.

§ The romance of Sir Perceval of Galles, st. lx, in *The Thornton Romances*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, for the Camden Society, 1844, p. 37.

|| Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. VII., p. 721. 30th May, 1392.



conduct, in 1385, for John of Rusp to import 150 *couples* of French wine for his master, Leo, King of Armenia.\*

The private households of the great civil and ecclesiastical lords were, like the Court, constantly on the move; they never appear to have laid in great stores of wine at any one place, but to have obtained it, when required, from the nearest port, principally London, Southampton, Bristol, Chester, Hull, and the fair at Boston.

It was really easier for Kings and great men to be constantly travelling through the country with their establishments than to convey the produce of distant estates to a fixed residence. Sir Walter de Henley, a Dominican friar who wrote in the thirteenth century, has recorded the rules of Robert Grossetete for the good management of an estate: The saintly bishop says that each year, after Michaelmas, when the accounts and estimates of the produce on each estate had come in, the programme of the next year's residence would be arranged adding:—"And do not in any wise burden by debt or long residence the places where you sojourn, but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may remain on the manor whereby the manor can raise money from increase of stock, and specially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines, robes, wax and all your wardrobes."

These purchases of wine, wax, and robes were to be made at two seasons:—

"That is to say, your wines and your wax and your wardrobe, at the fair of S. Botolph, what you

\* Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. VII., p. 481. 28th October, 1385.

shall spend in Lindsey, and in Norfolk; and in the Vale of Belvoir, and in the country of Caversham, and in that at Southampton for Winchester, and Somerset at Bristol; your robes purchase at St. Ives."\*

Grossetete, as a Bishop, spoke with some experience of the matter. Functionaries of the Church during the Middle Ages were constantly visiting their dioceses or attending Court, always followed by a large household, and their purchases of wine were accordingly on a large scale. They only kept well-stocked cellars at their principal castle or seat, and they usually sent before them, to the outlying manors or monasteries they intended visiting, the quantity of wine they thought would suffice during their stay. Thus, when the Prior of Holy Trinity, Dublin, visited the Manor of Balcaddan, in 1337, wine was sent in advance for his use.†

There are, however, much earlier instances of this practice, some very interesting examples being given in the pipe roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for the fourth year of the pontificate of Peter des Roches‡ (1208-1209). We read of many small parcels of wine sent from Southampton to Winchester, Sutton, Bitterne, Farnham, Fareham, Waltham, Witney, Marwell, Dunton, etc.§

\* Rules of St. Robert XXVI. in Walter of Henley, p. 145.

† Account Roll of Holy Trinity, Dublin, edited by J. Mills.

‡ Transcribed from the original roll amongst the records of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, extended and edited by the Class of Palæography of the London School of Economic and Political Science, under the supervision of Hubert Hall, F.S.A., 1903.

§ The carriage of a tun of wine

from Southampton to Waltham cost 1s. 2d.; to Witney, 6s.; to Marwell, 1s. 7½d.; to Dunton, 1s. 9d.; to Bitterne, by water, 8d.; to Bishop's Sutton, by the Itchen, 1s. 6d.; from Portsmouth to Fareham, the cost was 6d. per tun, by water. *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for the fourth year of the pontificate of Peter des Roches*, pp. 31, 42, 45, 53, 68, and *Introduction*, p. xix.

One of the most complete records giving reliable information regarding the consumption of wine in England by dignitaries of the Church during the thirteenth century is the household book of expenses of Bishop Swinfield.

The management of the Bishop's finances and housekeeping expenses had been confided to one of his chaplains, a clerk of great integrity, whose roll was submitted to the inspection of auditors at the expiration of every year ; everything that was bought for and consumed by the Bishop's household was carefully recorded in this roll, which gives thus a very exact account of the quantity of wine consumed during the period covered by this diary, from Michaelmas, 1289, until Michaelmas, 1290.

During that year the Bishop bought twelve pipes and one barrel of wine from Bristol for his manors, and he purchased a good deal of wine in the different towns through which he passed on his way to London, where he had been called, and where he bought a small tun (*tunellus*) for his use during his stay there.

The distinction already referred to between the wines of vintage and those of rack are also observable in the purchases of Bishop Swinfield, at Bristol, first of all in December and next in July.

On 3rd December, 1289, two of the Bishop's squires, Ralph de Marines and John de Baseville, were sent to Bristol and bought five casks of *new* wine in the merchant's cellars, paying for these £10 17s. 3d. cash. They saw the wine placed safely on board boats that plied upon the Severn between Bristol and Upton, paid the freight in advance, and left the casks in charge of some of their servants,

who were supplied with special mats to protect the wine from rain or frost, and who acted as a watch against the roguery of boatmen on the passage.\* Part was landed at the Haw, a wharf between Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and sent to Prestbury; the remainder seems to have been delivered at Upton, and thence conveyed to Bosbury by land. In the following July, Squire Ralph de Marines was again sent to Bristol, where he bought seven casks and one barrel of wine, six of which were transferred to Bosbury and one to Colwall. The whole cost of the wine, freight, and carriage to the Bosbury cellars amounted to £15 6s.

Bosbury was at all times the main depository of the Bishop's wines. This manor, seated in a deep and fertile valley, about four and a half miles to the north-west of Ledbury, possessed remarkably good cellars, and, throughout the roll, the needful supplies of wine at Prestbury, Whitborne, Sugwas and even Ledbury can be traced to the stock of Bosbury. Although Ledbury was undoubtedly the best manor the Bishop had in hand, and one of the residences he liked best, no stock of wine seems to have been kept there, not even that which was made in the adjoining vineyards. In 1289, Ledbury vines yielded seven casks of wine and nearly one of verjuice; this was kept in the Bosbury cellars and served on the Bishop's table in the following summer.

But most of the wine required for the Bishop's household was bought repeatedly from the vintners in the different towns where they stayed or journeyed

\* In the same way the Countess of Pembroke had a pipe of wine for her private use sent from Bristol to Monmouth, up the Wye, one of

her servants being in charge of the wine at the time; p. cx, note. Swinfield.

through. Hallam's remark that the gentry, in the reign of Edward I., drank little wine,\* appears quite unfounded if one considers the great number of vintners and taverners retailing wine throughout the country during that period. There are abundant proofs that in the houses of the dignitaries of the Church and in those of the nobles wine was a daily beverage. Very few days passed, whether of ordinary diet, or abstinence, feast or fast, that we fail to find it on Bishop Swinfield's board. The quantity consumed at the episcopal table varied from two gallons to as much as forty-four and even more, according to the character of the entertainment or the attendance of guests.

In October, 1189, eight gallons of wine were supplied for the episcopal household at Sugwas on a Friday, and twelve gallons on Sunday.

In December, 1189, whilst on his way to London, the Bishop stopped at Prestbury, where Christmas was kept, forty gallons of red and four gallons of white wine being consumed, together with an unscored quantity of beer. On March 15th, 1290, at Ross, the company was supplied with no less than fifty-two gallons of wine.

This roll supplies also some very interesting information on the way in which the assize of wine was kept in the country. The retail price had then been fixed at one shilling the sextary† or three-pence per gallon, and the observance of this assize may be traced in the purchases of the Bishop in London, Middlesex and parts of Gloucestershire; but in the other parts of the latter county, and in

\* Hallam's *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, Vol. III., p. 451 (1819).

† Assize of 51 Hen. III., and 13 Ed. I.

those of Berks, Worcester, Salop, Radnor, and in the towns of Hereford,\* and Monmouth, the charge was higher, in spite of statutes and penalties enacted.

There is no doubt that Bishop Swinfield appreciated wine and that it agreed with him,† and it is therefore remarkable that he should have been so utterly indifferent to its proper treatment. The time of the year he chose to have wine sent to his manors, in July and December, could not have been worse chosen, but the custom they had of leaving wine on tap was still more detrimental to its quality. They drew the wine from the wood and left it on tap for long periods. This happened only at the episcopal manors, which were visited at regular intervals; thus a cask which had been left half full at Ledbury when the Bishop left the place on December 20th, 1289, was finished at his next visit, on February 23rd, 1290 (*tonello prius inthamiato*). In June and July, 1290, whilst at Whitborne, they drank almost daily some red wine as well as some white wine from the Ledbury vineyards, from a cask which had been started during their last stay at Whitborne.‡

Hugh Norwold, Bishop of Ely, is said to have had a large stock of wine in his cellars, in 1252,§ and the consumption of *Claret* alone in the house

\* The vintners of Hereford had been granted the privilege of selling their wines contrary to the assize. Rot. Litt. Claus., 2 Hen. III., p. 202b.

† "It may be concluded that the Bishop never could have suspected the pathological fact detected by acuter medical observers of more modern times, that such a liquor would be injurious in promoting and aggravating the frequency of those nephritic attacks

under which he suffered at intervals. He had a cup by him during one paroxysm, and was relieved for the time by drinking it." A roll of the household of Swinfield, Abstract, p. xliv.

‡ All the above is from "A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford," edited by the Rev. J. Webb.

§ Matth. Paris, p. 855. *Archæologia*, Vol. i., p. 331.

of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, is stated to have amounted to eighty tuns yearly.\* The wine used at the enthroning of Archbishop Robert Winchelsea, in 1295, was as follows †:—

		s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Red wine	- - - 6 casks at	80	0	per cask	24	0 0
Claret wine	- - - 4 „ „	73	4	„ „	14	13 4
Choice white wine	- - 1 „ „	66	0	„ „	3	6 0
White wine for the cook-						
ing (sauces)	- - 1 „ „	60	0	„ „	3	0 0
Malvoisie	- - 1 butt „	80	0	„ „	4	0 0
Ossey	- - 1 pipe „	60	0	„ „	3	0 0
Rhine wine	- - 11 aulms	26	0	„ „	14	6 0

Total, 12 casks, 1 butt, 1 pipe, and 11 aulms - - £66 5 4

We also know of two contemporaries of Bishop Swinfield, Richard de Gravesend, Bishop of London (1280–1303), and Thomas Bitton, Bishop of Exeter (1292–1307), whose cellars were stocked with different vintages. When the former died, they sold the *old* wine found in his cellar of Saint Paul's‡ and, at the death of the latter, his friends consumed three casks of his wine at the funeral, his relations drank four and a half casks afterwards, they sold a cask of wine they found in the late prelate's cellar at Crediton, and also another cask of Rochelle wine, as well as twenty empty casks.§

\* Drake, Eboracum, p. 440. *Archæologia*, Vol. i., p. 331.

† *Archæologia*, Vol. i., p. 330. In Drake's edition of Matthew Parker (p. 13), this entry is ascribed to Archbishop Winchelsea, but it is given by Battely's Appendix (p. 27) as belonging to a certainly later reign.

‡ Vinum de celario Sancti Pauli. Ibidem respondent de lxvi s. viii d. duobus doleis vini veteris venditis. Et de duobus doleis vini veteris quasi semiplenis preti xxvi s. viii d. donatis ut infra . . . *Account of the Executors of Richard de Graves-*

*end, Bishop of London (Camden Society's Publications)*, p. 60.

§ Et de vi li. x s. de iii doliis vini liberatis ad expensas funerarias. Et de ix li. xv s. de iii doliis dimidio vini expenditis per executores et familiam post obitum Domini. Et de xl s. de i dolio vini in celario Domini Cryditi evendito. Et de lx s. de i dolio vini de la Rochelex pollicibus deficientibus vendito . . . Et de xvi s. de xx doliis vacuis venditis.—*Account of the Executors of Thomas Bitton, Bishop of Exeter (Camden Society's Publications)*, p. 10.

The Church claimed and often obtained many privileges regarding the imports of wine for their own use, the Archbishops of York, for instance, having enjoyed for many years the prisage of wine at Hull.\*

Apart from the dignitaries of the Church, much wine was consumed in the larger monasteries, to whom fell an important share of the hospitality that both nobles and Churchmen often demanded when touring.

Abundant proofs of this are to be found in the numerous cartularies which have come down to us, but a few facts taken from two of them will suffice to give an idea of what the consumption of wine was in the monasteries of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

According to the *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, or Charters of the Abbey of Ramsey, edited by W. H. Hart and the Rev. Ponsonby A. Lyons, the consumption of wine appears to have been extensive in this great House. The monks made some wine on the abbey lands as late as the thirteenth century,† but they also bought to a fairly large extent, paying £48 14s. 5s. in one instance for twenty casks of wine.‡ On another occasion, they gave twenty casks of wine to the Bishop of Ely for a

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\* Their right to this privilege was first opposed by Richard de la Pole, the King's Butler, who was, however, ordered to allow it, in 1327; six years later, in 1333, the matter was again brought up, and the justices of York were ordered by Edward III. to decide as to the right of the Archbishops to the prisage of wine at Hull. See Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, T. I., pp. 242 and 267.

† See Chapter I.

‡ Memorandum quod vina nostra anno viii empta fuerunt pro xlviii l. xliiii s. et v d. per manum Johannis Page xx dolia :—*Cartul. Monast. de Rames. T. III.*, p. 323.



compromise.\* A monk was in special charge of the Abbey wines, under the direction of the cellarer.†

Wine was not the daily beverage of the community at Ramsey; every one of the monks appears to have been given half a gallon of wine on days of festivals, and on the anniversary or feast day of the Abbot only;‡ the dignitaries of the Abbey and visitors of distinction had, however, wine every day.

Some of the manors dependent on the Abbey had to supply a certain quantity of wine every year, that of Barwell sending in eight casks.§

This practice was not uncommon amongst Church tenants; in 1180 the Bishop of Salisbury, for instance, granted to one Segar half a hide of land in Wanborough, to be held on the service of providing annually half a cask of wine on Maundy Thursday. ||

Among other abbatial records, where abundant proofs are to be found of the large consumption

\* *Compromissio inter G. episcopum Eliensem et abbatem et conventum in certas personas, sub pœna viginti doliorum vini.*—*Cart. Mon. de Ram.*, Vol. i., p. 90.

† *Unus monachus habeat custodiam panis, cervisiæ, et vini, salva potestate Celerarii in omnibus.* *Cart. Rams.* (1193–1207), T. I., p. 206 and p. 213.

‡ *Et quod quilibet monachus de conventu prædicto habeat plenarie, die celebrationis anniversarii prædicti, tria fercula peroptima et dimidiam lagenam vini.*—*Cart. Ram.*, T. II., p. 232, A.D. 1284.—In 1206 £28 5s. 6d. were spent for wine, meat and fish consumed by the monks. Et in pictanciis monachorum, pro vinis, et carnibus, et alleciis, quas pictancias consueverunt percipere de camera abbatis annuatim, viginti octo libras, et

quinque solidos, et sex denarios hoc anno, per idem. breve, T. I., p. 231. *See also* T. II., p. 223 (A.D. 1232–3), and T. H., p. 242 (A.D. 1316).

§ *De quibus denariis provideantur conventui, singulis annis, octo dolea vini optimi ad annuam pictantiam conferenda.*—*Cart. Rams.*, T. II., p. 236.

|| *Joscelinus, Dei Gratia, Sarum Episcopus . . . nos donasse et concessisse Segaro, servienti et fideli nostro in Wamberga, dimidiam hidam terræ . . . tenendam per servitium dimidii modii vini, quod ipse predictus Segarus invenire debet singulis annis ad mandatum faciendum proxima die jovis ante Pascha in capitulo Sarum ecclesiæ.*—*Vetus Registrum Sarisberienae, or the Register of St. Osmond.* Edited by W. H. Rich Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Vol. i., p. 227.

of wine in the mediæval religious houses, are the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, published from the original manuscript by the Surtees Society.

In 1278, they bought twenty-eight casks at Newcastle, and in 1292 thirty-four casks and one pipe ; in 1299, the *vicar* was sent to Hull to purchase some wine, and nine casks were bought, whilst seven more were purchased at Hartlepool and Newcastle, sixty-three and a half gallons at Durham and one cask at Berwick.\* Several similar entries are recorded during the following years, some *Vernage* being bought in 1335, and a gallon of wine *for the Queen's horse* in 1336.† Hull, Hartlepool and Newcastle were the three principal ports where the Abbots of Durham procured their supplies of wine ; they also occasionally bought some at York, Darlington, or, in small quantities, locally in Durham. Their purchases were mostly of either red or white wine ( . . . . *doleis vini rubei et albi vini*), but they also bought Rhenish wine, paying as much as £7 a tun for it in 1340, some wine of Crete, Malvoisie and Vernage ; in 1349, they bought sixteen gallons of verjuice at 10d. the gallon, and nine of vinegar at 9d. the gallon, and, in 1347, they purchased 200 hoops for hooping their vats and casks.‡

In the records of the Knights Hospitallers in England, it is clearly stated in the report of Prior

\* Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham (*Rotuli Bursariorum*), pp. 488, 492, 494, 502.

† Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham (*Rotuli Bursariorum*), pp. 505, 527, 528. *In 1 lagena vini emp. pro quodam equo d'ne Regine. Sd.*

‡ Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, published by the Surtees Society, pp. 502, 505, 516, 527, 528, 529, 538, 545, 546, 551, 553, 556, 563, 580, 582, 590.

Philip de Thame to the Grand Master of the Order for the year 1338, that wine was occasionally drunk at their Clerkenwell House, where beer was the usual drink.\*

In 1274, the Prior of Dunstaple consumed five casks of wine; † in 1232, the Dean and Canons of Hereford sent to Bristol to buy their supply of wines, ‡ and, in 1281, a safe conduct was given for the abbot and convent of Beaulieu taking a ship laden with corn and other goods from time to time to Gascony and other places within the King's power, and bringing thence wine and other goods.§

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the authorities of the ecclesiastical manor of Taunton, which was a dependence of the See of Winchester, made it a rule to send their corn for sale to Exeter and Topsham instead of to Bridgwater, as they were able to obtain from the two former ports supplies of wine, which were carted back to Taunton on the return journey at a fixed charge of 2s. per tun.||

After the King, the Church, and the nobles, the larger consumers of wine in England during the Middle Ages were the townsmen, and particularly the merchants and citizens of those ports where wine was cheap and easy to procure. The Mayors and Corporations of these different ports appear to

\* The Knights Hospitallers in England, edited by the Rev. L. B. Larking (Camden Society Publications), 1857, p. 99.

† Annal. Dunst., pp. 425, 628, 641; *Archæologia*, Vol. i., p. 331.

‡ Calend. Close Rolls, 17 Hen. III., m. 16. 23rd December, 1232.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 9 Ed. I., m. 6. 26th September, 1281.

|| Et si Dominus voluerit cariare vinum suum ab Exon vel Toppisham d'nus Episcopus dabit pro quolibet doleo cariendo iis.—*Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society Transactions*, Vol. xviii., p. 82.

have often inflicted, as a fine, the payment of a certain number of casks of wine,\* and it is very probable that the Sheriffs of Exeter were only following a genial old custom when they treated themselves to four gallons of wine at the election of the Mayor, at a cost of 2s. 8d., and sent four gallons to two of their colleagues who had evidently been prevented from attending.

Similar entries are to be found in all the municipal records of that period that have come down to us, such as the town accounts of Faversham during the reign of Edward I.,† those of the Corporation of Beverley,‡ of the Borough of King's Lynn§ and others, all of which illustrate the liberal use made of wine by the Mayor and Sheriffs.

There was no town in England, either small or great, where wine could not be procured during the fourteenth century, as appears from the numerous contemporary travelling accounts still in existence. Thus the expense of Master John Midylton and Master Robert Goner on their journey from Oxford to London, in 1382, show that they had wine where they stopped for the night at Wycombe and Uxbridge ;||

\* The History of the City of Exeter, by the Rev. Geo. Oliver, DD., Exeter, 1861, pp. 319, 320, 321; A.D. 42, 43 Ed. III. In that same year the city accounts show a sum of £9 16s. 4½d. spent for wine; bread and wine was given to the Mayor, J. Gist, and there is an entry of 2½d. and another of 3d. both for wine for the baker; two gallons and one pottel of red wine, and one pottel of white wine were also sent to the King's justices in Lent, at a cost of 19d.; 23s. were paid for bread and wine for Easter, and 2s. 10d. for the assessors of the Court and the baker.

† Faversham town accounts, 33 Ed. I., in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. x., pp. 223, 225, 226.

‡ Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, p. 15.

§ MSS. of the Borough of King's Lynn. Chamberlain's accounts, in the Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. Appendix, Part III., pp. 213, 214, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223.

|| MSS. of University College, Oxford, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. Appendix, p. 477.

they were probably scholarly worthies with beards "as white as the daisy" such as Chaucer has depicted :

"Whyt was his berd, as is the dayesye,  
Of his complexioun he was sangwyn,  
Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in wyn.\*

At Romney, in 1397, the proprietor of the *Hope (Hoop)*, William Lucas, was a vintner, and the member sent by that port to Parliament, John Yon, was also a vintner, and the largest importer of wines in the place.†

At Weymouth and Melcombe Regis,‡ as well as other ports and inland towns throughout the realm, wine was easy to procure and freely drunk in taverns during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus we find that the assize fixing the retail price of wine at 6d. per gallon, in 1221, was enforced at Seaford, Chichester, Shoreham, Pevensey, Hastings, Winchelsea, Rye and thirty-three other similar towns.§

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#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

Although no criterion of the consumption of wine at Canterbury, the history of the *Wine of St. Thomas*, a yearly gift of wine from the Kings of France to the Canterbury clergy, is of some interest. Louis VII., King of France, paid a pious visit to

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\* Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*. Prologue A., v. 332-4.

† MSS. of the Corporation of New Romney, in the Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 535.

‡ MSS. of the towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in the Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 577.

§ Rot. Litt. Claus., 7 Hen. III., m. 20d. Sussex Archaeological Society, Vol. xvii., p. 143.

the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, in 1179. Being evidently well pleased with the hospitality of the monks, and being moved "by the love of God and St. Thomas," he made to the Canterbury Church a gift of 100 casks of wine,\* to be sent every year and by his successors after his death, which happened the following year, in 1180.

This wine, which was called the wine of St. Thomas, was to be sent from Poissy, Triel, or St. Brice, three very inferior growths not far from Paris, but in the direct possession of the Kings of France, who could not dispose of any Bordeaux, Burgundy Anjou or Poitou, wines.

Thin and harsh as these wines were they could not stand the journey to Canterbury, where they arrived quite sour, so that the monks of Christchurch demanded and obtained the permission to send an agent to Paris at the vintage who would collect the 100 casks of wine, sell them to the best interests of the Church, and bring the proceeds of the sale back instead of the wine. When, however, France and England were at war, the delivery of the wine ceased or became very irregular, and, from time to time, whenever some propitious occasion presented itself, the Prior made an attempt to recover the Abbey's right. After the peace of Bretigny, the Christchurch monks urged their claim with immediate success; but in 1369, when hostilities were resumed, they lost their wine again until the fifteenth century when Henry V. met Charles VI. at Meulan on the Seine to conclude once more, a peace which was to be a mere truce.

On this auspicious occasion, however, Archbishop Chicheley was in the English King's train; he acted the part of a watchful friend towards the Canterbury Charter, and the Christchurch monks regained, thanks to his good offices, their privilege.

But when the Dauphin, whose proffered friendship to the English had been rejected, became Charles VII., the gift of wine was suspended; in 1444 the truce which preceded the marriage of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou again gave the Chapter an

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\* Dedit autem idem rex ab amore et honorem Dei et beati Thomæ, monachis in Cantuariensi ecclesia jugiter Deo famulantibus centum modios vini, singulis annis

præfatis monachis accipiendos. Chronica Roberti de Torigneio, Abbatis monasterii Sancti Michaelis in periculo maris, p. 283.

excuse for soliciting the French King. On this occasion they approached him through his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, but the truce between the two countries was of such short duration that no good result followed the solicitation.

In 1477, Louis XI., who was evidently anxious to conciliate the English, renewed the ancient grant of his ancestors, but, seeing that the vineyards in the vicinity of Paris were so wasted by war that they had ceased to produce wine of any sort, he directed that the wine given to the Canterbury Convent should be collected in the Bordelais or Gascony, so that instead of the acerb beverage of Poissy, the monks obtained Sauternes and Claret of such good quality that they at once brought it over to their own cellars in England.

The Charter by which Louis XI. confirmed the above-mentioned grant is dated the 14th April, 1478, and the religious origin of the gift and the "perfect devotion" of the King to "St. Thomas de Quanturbery" are clearly recorded.\*

\* . . . Pourquoi nous, les choses dessus dites consideres, et la grant, singulier, parfait et entiere devotion que nous avons tousjours eue, et encore avons, audit glorieux Martir et Amy de Dieu Monseigneur Saint Thomas de Quanterbury, a iceux Prieur et religieux dudit Couvent avons octroyes et octroyons, de grace especial, par ces présentes, que doresnavant ilz aient et prengnent en nos pais de Bourdelois et Gascongne, par chacun an, en la saison de vendengée, et selon le commun pris, ladite quantite de cent muys de vin, a ladite mesure

de Paris; qui sont estimez valloir les trois muys deux pipes; dont les deux pipes font un tonneau. Et que icellui vin ilz puissent faire conduire et emmener, franchement et quietement de tous droiz de traïke et autre subcides, tant nouveaulx que enciens, que avons acostumé à prendre et lever sur les vins chargez en iceux pais."\*

\* *Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi Scriptores, literæ Cantuarienses*, Vol. I., pp. 54, 62-67, 158, 208; Vol. II., pp. 11, 12, 24, 48, etc.; Vol. III., Introd. p. xix, pp. 138, 189, 292, 299, 300.

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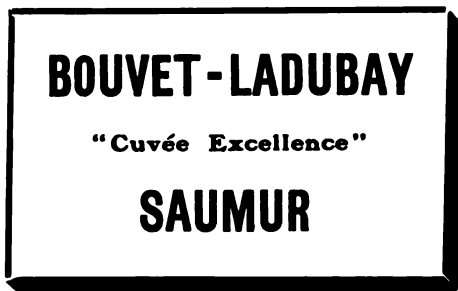
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	California Port ..	...	...	31/0	17/6
	California Angelica, Tokay, Muscat ...	...	...	31/0	17/6

Blackberry Brandy, Delicious Rich Liqueur ...	...	...	42/0	24/0	—
California Grape Brandy ...	...	...	50/0	—	—

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